

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

MAR 8 1950

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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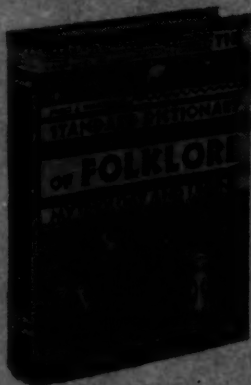
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THE SOURCE AND CHARACTERIZATION OF NICHOLAS ROWE'S *TAMERLANE*

Nicholas Rowe's second drama, *Tamerlane*, acted at the old Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre sometime between the last days of December, 1701, and January 6, 1701/02, was not only its author's favorite play but also one of his most successful. Rowe's successful career as a dramatist, in part at least, can be explained by the fine acting his pieces received, together with his ability to write parts suitable for the actors and actresses available to him. It is not far amiss, for example, to conjecture that the staid uprightness of *Tamerlane* is due partially to the fact that the role was constructed with the ageing Betterton in mind.

One compelling reason for *Tamerlane's* immediate and continuing success is to be found in the politico-allegorical theme which Rowe hints at in his Epistle Dedicatory to the play.

Some People (who do me a very great Honour in it) have fancy'd, that in the Person of *Tamerlane* I have alluded to the greatest Character of the present Age. I don't know, whether I ought not to apprehend a great deal of Danger from avowing a Design like that. It may be a Task indeed worthy the greatest Genius, which this, or any other Time has produc'd. But therefore I ought not to stand the Shock of a Parallel, lest it should be seen, to my Disadvantage how far the *Hero has transcended the Poet's Thought*. There are many Features, 'tis true, in that great Man's Life, not unlike his Majesty: his Courage, his Piety, his Moderation, his Justice, his Fatherly Love of his People; but above all, his Hate of Tyranny, and Oppression, and his zealous Care for the Common Good of Mankind, carry a large Resemblance of Him: Several Incidents are alike in their Stories; and there wants nothing to his Majesty but such a deciding Victory, as that by which *Tamerlane* gave Peace to the World.¹

¹ *Tamerlane* (London, 1702), sig. A².

Certainly, his contemporaries read more than the figures of William III and Louis XIV into the play. These political allusions, however have been treated adequately by Willard Thorp and James Sutherland.²

Without doubt these contemporary allusions assured the drama a life in its own day, especially since the years 1702-1715 were filled with partisan strife and jockeying for political power between the Whigs and Tories. Even the longevity of the play can, in fact, be traced to this factor. Since *Tamerlane* was a paean of praise to William III, the hero of the Glorious Revolution, wise theater managers played the piece for the ensuing century on November 4th and 5th. They well knew that the Whigs would fill the house on the anniversaries of William's landing on English soil and his birthday.

The thing, however, which is of interest in the Epistle Dedicatory is Rowe's finding a parallel between the virtuous hero of the Whigs and the barbarous Mongol, Tamerlane. A decade before the appearance of the play, Sir William Temple had given Tamerlane a moral bill of health in his essay, *Of Heroick Virtue*:

But the great Hero of the *Eastern Scythians* or *Tartars* I esteem to have been *Tamerlane* and, whether he was Son of a Shepherd or a King, to have been the greatest Conqueror that was ever in the World, at least that appears upon any present Records of Story. . . . He was, without Question, a great and Heroick Genius, of great Justice, exact Discipline, generous Bounty, and much Piety, adoring one God, tho' he was neither Christian, Jew, nor Mohametan, and deserves a nobler Character than could be allowed by Modern Writers to any Person of a Nation so unlike themselves.³

Although Temple paints Tamerlane with the same subdued colors as does Rowe, the likeness had not been recognized by the eighteenth century. Doctor Johnson, acting as spokesman for the time, sums up the general feeling that Rowe's Tamerlane lacked historical verisimilitude.

The virtue of Tamerlane seems to have been arbitrarily assigned him by his poet, for I know not that history gives any other qualities than those which make a conqueror.⁴

² Willard Thorp, "A Key to Rowe's *Tamerlane*," *JEGP*, xxxix (1940), 124-127; James Sutherland, *Three Plays of Nicholas Rowe* (London, 1929).

³ *Miscellanea* (London, 1690), II, 212.

⁴ "Life of Rowe," *Lives of the English Poets*, ed. G. B. Hill (Oxford, 1905), II, 66-67. Dr. Johnson's comment seems to indicate a justifiable

Restoration and early eighteenth century dramatizations of *Tamerlane* had, in general, followed the tenor of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*. Such a play was Charles Saunders' *Tamerlane*, a tragedy which Sutherland, following Genest, suggests as a source for Rowe's play.⁵ This suggestion ignores Rowe's main source, hitherto unnoticed, a work by the Elizabethan Richard Knolles entitled *The General Historie of the Turkes*. Rowe's library contained the 1603 edition of this history.⁶

Knolles' work was one of the earliest English attempts to deal with the history of Turkey and the Mohammedans. It became very popular and was reprinted with continuations from time to time. After the first edition of 1603, Sir Paul Rycaut issued a third edition in 1687, enlarged into two volumes. In the *London Gazette*, No. 3600, for May 9-13, 1700, Rycaut advertised a "compleat and last 6th Edition." In 1701 appeared two shorter histories, which were abridgments of Knolles: David Jones' *A Compleat History of the Turkes*, and John Savage's *The Turkish History*. The *London Gazette*, No. 3686, March 6-10, 1701, announced the latter as "written Originally by Mr. Knolles, and continued by the Hon. Sir Paul Rycaut." Savage continued the history to 1700.

According to Knolles, Bajazet, emperor of the Turks, has laid waste Greece in violation of his treaty with that country, and *Tamerlane* sends an ambassador to dissuade him from further wars. Bajazet refuses *Tamerlane*'s gifts and sends the ambassador back. *Tamerlane* is urged by his Christian favorite, Axalla, a prince from Genoa, to subdue Bajazet. This action forms the basis of Rowe's *Tamerlane*.

Rowe's audience was not blind to the political analogy. William III (*Tamerlane*) had entreated Louis XIV (Bajazet) to cease his

lapse of memory on his part. In the six year period (1749-1755) he had drawn material from Knolles for *Irene*, *The Rambler*, and his *Dictionary*. It is possible that this early period found him reading Knolles and using the material then fresh in his mind, but by 1779-1781 when he wrote the *Lives of the Poets*, details of *The Historie of the Turkes* had faded from his mind.

⁵ *Three Plays*, p. 340; John Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage* (Bath, 1832), II, 258.

⁶ Rowe's library was sold at auction August 26, 1719, by his widow. The British Museum has preserved a sales list, cataloguing the library according to author, title, and date of edition. This list is also reprinted in Paul Borgwardt, *Royal Convert von Nicholas Rowe* (Rostock, 1909).

violation of the Spanish Netherlands (Greece). Louis had rejected the entreaty. Axalla, to an audience of 1702, could have meant only William Bentinck, Lord Portland, the foreign favorite of William III, especially since Rowe follows Knolles faithfully in portraying Axalla, even to making him an alien. He develops the situation that the historical Tamerlane-Axalla friendship was strongly opposed by Tamerlane's Mohammedan followers, but that Tamerlane felt that Axalla's virtues were too great to justify his being renounced out of mere religious bigotry. Rowe dramatizes the details as follows:

Dervise: . . . The true Believers
Mourn to behold thee favour this Axalla.

Tamerlane: I fear me, thou out-go'st the Prophet's Order;
And bring'st his venerable Name to shelter
A Rudeness ill-becoming thee to use,
Or me to suffer. When thou nam'st my Friend,
Thou nam'st a Man beyond a Monk's discerning,
Virtuous, and Great, a Warriour, and a Prince.⁷

Knolles also records that Tamerlane became king at fifteen and married his cousin, the daughter of the Great Cam. This material Rowe utilizes in Omar's speech, keeping the same details, but making them applicable to the marriage of William and Mary, which as Sutherland has pointed out was arranged by Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby. In Rowe's play the complaint of Omar reflects the grievance of Danby:

Dishonour blast my Name; was it for this
That I directed his first Steps to Greatness?
Taught him to climb, and made him what he is?
When our great Cam first bent his Eyes towards him,
(Then petty Prince of Parthia) and by me
Persuaded, rais'd him to his Daughter's Bed,
Call'd him his Son, and Successor of Empire:
Was it for this, that like a Rock I stood,
And stemm'd the Torrent of our Tartar Lords,
Who scorn'd his upstart Sway? When Calibes
In bold Rebellion drew ev'n Half the Provinces
To own his Cause, I, like his better Angel,
Stood by his shaking Throne, and fixt it fast;

⁷ *Tamerlane*, III, ii, 40-47. As Thorp points out, the lines would have more point, because just before the play appeared Bentinck had been saved from an impeachment trial by William's personal intervention.

And am I now so lost to his Remembrance
That when I ask a Captive, he shall tell me,
She is Axalla's Right, his Christian Minion?⁸

Of greater interest, however, than these political allusions which parallel Knolles' account, is Rowe's characterization of Tamerlane, whose virtues, though unhistorical in eighteenth century eyes, are to be found in the picture drawn by the Elizabethan historian. Thus, the legendary Tamerlane, as Knolles reports him, had an un-Mohammedan tolerance for diversities of religion.

Tamerlane, himself, a Mohametan, disliking of no man for his religion whatsoever, so as he did worship but one only God, the Creator of heaven and earth, and of all that therein is: being himself of opinion, That God in Essence one, and in himself immutable, without change or diversity; yet for the manifesting of his omnipotency and power, as he had created in the world sundry kinds of people, much differing both in nature, manners and condition, and yet all framed to the image of himself: so was he also contented to be of them diversely served, according to the diversity of their natures and manners: so that they worshipt none other strange gods, but him alone, The Maker and Creator of all things: which was the cause that he suffered the use of all religions within the countries subject to his obedience, were they not meere Atheists, Idolaters, or Worshippers of strange and vaine gods.⁹

Rowe's protagonist paraphrases this philosophy:

'Tis false; no Law Divine condemns the Virtuous,
For differing from the Rules your Schools devise.
Look round, how Providence bestows alike
Sunshine and Rain, to bless the fruitful Year,
On diff'rent Nations, all of diff'rent Faiths;
And (tho' by several Names and Titles worshipp'd)
Heav'n takes the various Tribute of their Praise;
Since all agree to own, at least to mean,
One best, one greatest, only Lord of All.
Thus when he view'd the many Forms of Nature,
He found that all was good, and blest the Fair Variety.¹⁰

Again, Knolles' *Historie* presents an unorthodox view of Tamerlane's hatred of Bajazet's cruelty:

Bajazet . . . never shewed any token of submission at all, but according to his proud nature, without respect to his present state, presumptuously

⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, i, 31-46.

⁹ *Historie of the Turkes* (London, 1603), p. 211.

¹⁰ *Tamerlane*, III, ii, 50-60.

answered him unto whatsoever he demanded. Wherewith *Tamerlane* moved, told him, That it was now in his power to make him lose his life. Whereunto he answered no more, but Doe it: for that, that losse should be his greatest happinesse. *Tamerlane* afterwards demanding of him, What made him so proud, as to enterprise to bring into his subjection so noble a Prince as was the Greek Emperour? He answered, Even the same thing that hath moved thee to invade me, namely the desire of glory and sovereignty. But wherefore then (said *Tamerlane*) do'st thou use so great crueltie towards them that thou hast overcome, without respect of age or sex? That did I (said he) to give the greater terror unto my enemies. And what would'st thou have done unto me (said *Tamerlane*) had it bin my fortune to have fallen into thy hands, as thou art now in mine? I would (said *Bajazet*) have inclosed thee in a cage of iron, and so in triumph have carried thee up and down my Kingdom. Even so, (said *Tamerlane*) shalt thou be served.¹¹

This same susceptibility is to be seen in Rowe's dramatization of the passage, which follows Knolles' order and pattern:

Tamerlane: When I survey the Ruins of this Field,
The wild Destruction, which thy fierce Ambition
Has dealt among Mankind (so many Widows,
And helpless Orphans has thy Battle made,
That Half our Eastern World this Day are Mourners)
Well may I, in behalf of Heav'n and Earth
Demand from thee Atonement for this Wrong.

Bajazet: Make thy Demand to those that own thy Power:
Know, I am still beyond it; and tho' Fortune
(Curse on that Changeling Deity of Fools!)
Has stript me of the Train and Pomp of Greatness,
That Out-Side of a King, yet still my Soul,
Fixt high, and of itself alone dependant,
Is ever free, and royal; and ev'n now,
As at the Head of Battle, does defy thee.

Thou pedant Talker! Ha! art thou a King
Possest of Sacred Pow'r, Heav'n's darling Attribute,
And dost thou prate of Leagues, and Oaths, and Prophets;
I hate the *Greek* (Perdition on his Name!)
As I do thee, and would have met you both,
As Death does human Nature, for Destruction.

Tamerlane: . . . if Success had crown'd thy Wishes?
Say, what had I to expect, if thou had'st conquered?

Bajazet: Oh, Glorious Thought! By Heav'n! I will enjoy it,
Tho' but in Fancy; Imagination shall

¹¹ *Historie*, p. 212.

Make room to entertain the vast Idea.
 Oh! Had I been the Master but of Yesterday,
 The World, the World had felt me; and for thee,
 I had used thee, as thou art to me,—a Dog,
 The Object of my Scorn, and mortal Hatred:
 I would have taught thy Neck to know my Weight,
 And mounted from the Footstool to my Saddle:
 Then, when thy daily servile Task was done,
 I would have cag'd thee, for the Scorn of Slaves,
 'Till thou hadst begg'd to die; and ev'n that Mercy
 I had deny'd thee: Now thou know'st my Mind,
 And question me no farther.¹²

In Knolles' account, Tamerlane caged Bajazet for public view throughout Asia, used him as a footstool to mount his horse, and fed him crumbs from his table, "not so much for the hatred to the man, as to manifest the just judgment of God against the arrogant folly of the proud."¹³ Rowe's *Tamerlane* pursues his Bajazet from the same righteous point of view.

Sutherland's statement, therefore, that the "caging of Bajazet" is "one of the few passages in Rowe's play where any resemblance to Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* can be seen,"¹⁴ is based upon casual similarity only. There is no episode or detail common to Rowe and Marlowe which is not also to be found in Knolles. In view of the fact that Rowe follows Knolles in the major episodes of his play, as well as in minor details,¹⁵ there is no reason to believe that he went farther back than that account for his material.

Thus, Rowe's use of plot, incident, and detail as well as his complete characterization of Tamerlane, written though it may have

¹² *Tamerlane*, II, ii, 42-56, 132-147.

¹³ *Historie*, p. 221.

¹⁴ *Three Plays*, p. 339.

¹⁵ Two examples will suffice: the capture of Bajazet by Axalla and the Moneses episode. In both Knolles and Rowe, Bajazet is captured by Axalla rather than by Tamerlane, a detail lacking in other dramatizations of the story. Also, in Knolles, George, the Despot of Serbia and a Christian, is captured in battle by Tamerlane. In explanation of his alliance with Bajazet, George pleads that "his own safety had caused him, though against his will, to take part with him" (*Historie*, p. 209). In *Tamerlane*, Rowe changes George into Moneses and adds Arpasia, his wife, as a love interest. The reader meets Moneses after his capture by Tamerlane, and again Moneses declares that his own safety had forced him to fight in the army of Bajazet.

been for the ageing Betterton and representing William III, consistently follows that of Knolles' *Historie of the Turkes*, his primary source.

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THE "HERESY" OF *THE PEARL*

The charge that *The Pearl* is heretical is a very grave one. Heresy was not something to be taken lightly in the fourteenth century; moreover, heretical doctrine seems especially strange in a work which emphasizes the importance of purity of spirit with evident sincerity. It has been said that the poet's interpretation of the Parable of the Vineyard includes the "heresy of Jovinian," to the effect that there is no differentiation in status in the celestial Jerusalem. Further evidence is available, however, in support of the view of J. B. Fletcher, R. Wellek, and others to the effect that there is no heresy in the poem.¹

St. Augustine explains the parable at length in one of his sermons.² The general agricultural image is treated first. We cultivate God, and He cultivates us: "Colimus enim eum adorando, non arando. Ille autem colit nos tanquam agricola agrum."³ In His labor of cultivation, God extirpates the seeds of evil from us and opens our hearts as with a plow in order to plant the seeds of the precepts, whose fruit is piety. Since God is in this sense a farmer, he planted a vineyard and called workers into it. The workers called at various times throughout the day are interpreted in two ways in the sermon. The second interpretation is relevant to *The Pearl*: Tanquam prima hora vocantur, qui recentes ab utero matris incipiunt esse christiani; quasi tertia, pueri; quasi sexta, juvenes; quasi nona, vergentes

¹ Fletcher's article, "The Allegory of *The Pearl*," *JEGP*, xx (1921), 1-21, is still one of the most fruitful studies of the poem. On heresy, see especially pp. 17-18. Although Wellek denies the existence of heresy in the poem, *Studies in English by Members of the English Seminar of the Charles University* (Prague, 1933), pp. 20-26, he seems to find some self-contradiction in the doctrine.

² Sermo LXXXVII, *PL*, 38, 530-539.

³ Col. 530.

in senium; quasi undecima, omnino decrepiti: unum tamen vitae aeternum denarium omnes accepturi.⁴

Those who are called first are baptized infants; those called at the third hour are children, and so on. The fact that the Pearl is said in the poem to have died in infancy has made this interpretation seem irrelevant, since she says that she went to the vineyard "in euentyde."⁵ In other words, she could not have gone into the vineyard in old age if she died in infancy.

In Medieval exegesis it was not unusual for early interpretations of Scriptural passages to become elaborated with the passage of time. A comment of a few lines in Augustine or Bede may fill a column by the twelfth century. In the process, the basic meaning or *sentence* remained with very little change, but there were frequently changes in detail. Let us compare the interpretation of Augustine just quoted with that of Bruno Astensis in the twelfth century:

Regnum coelorum, Ecclesia est; paterfamilias, Christus Dominus noster: ejus namque familia, et angeli et homines sunt: magna quidem est familia, quia magnus est et paterfamilias. Venit autem iste paterfamilias ut conduceret operarios in vineam suam. Vineam enim Domini Sabaoth, domus Israel est: vinea, Dei Ecclesia est: extra quam qui laborat, mercedem non recipit: in qua qui laborat, denarium suscipit. Ille enim denarius, remuneratio est aeternae beatitudinis: ideo unus denarius omnibus datur: unus primis, et unus novissimis. Et alii quidem primo mane laborare incipiunt: alii vero circa horam tertiam: alii autem circa sextam, et nonam horam: alii quoque circa horam undecimam. . . . Primo namque mane in vinea Dei laborare incipiunt, qui a primaeva aetate, id est a pueritia in Ecclesia Dei Domino serviunt: illi autem circa horam tertiam laborare veniunt, qui in adolescentia servire incipiunt: veniunt autem et illi circa sextam et nonam horam, qui vel in juventute, vel in senectute, ad poenitentiam convertuntur. Undecima vero hora illa est, quae in qualibet aetate fini appropinquat et morti proxima est. Hanc enim horam non solum juvenes et senes, verum etiam pueri habent.⁶

The general pattern and the basic meaning of the two interpretations are the same; but Bruno makes the eleventh hour, "in euentyde," an hour which can apply to persons of any age. Those who begin to labor in the church in the eleventh hour are those who

⁴ Col. 533. The first interpretation involves the ages of mankind rather than the ages of man.

⁵ Osgood's text, l. 582. See his note, p. 75.

⁶ PL, 165, 237.

go shortly before death. That this interpretation was widely accepted is attested by the fact that it survives as an English idiom, *at the eleventh hour*.⁷ When the Pearl says that she went "in euentyde," therefore, she is simply stressing the fact that she did not labor in the vineyard of the church. That is, she was baptised only shortly before death.

The poet's general interpretation of the parable is thus not an "inversion" of St. Augustine's. Nor are his remarks concerning heavenly reward contrary to St. Augustine's. In his sermon, St. Augustine emphasizes the fact that in the reward which they receive for their labors, the workers in the vineyard are all equal, "unum tamen vitae aeternum denarium omnes accepturi." It is this doctrine which has been mistaken in *The Pearl* for the "heresy of Jovinian":

Erimus ergo in illa mercede omnes aequales, tanquam primi novissimi, et novissimi primi: quia denarius ille vita aeterna est, et in vita aeterna omnes aequales erunt. Quamvis enim meritorum diversitate fulgebunt, alius magis, alius minus: quod tamen ad vitam aeternam pertinet, aequalis erit omnibus. Non enim alteri erit longius, alteri brevius, quod pariter sempiternum est: quod non habet finem, nec tibi habebit, nec nihi. Alio modo ibi erit castitas conjugalitatis, alio modo ibi erit integritas virginalis: alio modo ibi erit fructus boni operis, alio modo corona passionis. Illud alio modo: illud alio modo: tamen quantum pertinet ad vivere in aeternum, nec ille plus vivet illo, nec ille plus illo. Pariter enim sine fine vivunt, cum in suis quisque claritatibus vivat: et ille denarius vita aeterna est. Non murmuret ergo qui post multum tempus accepit, contra eum qui post modicum tempus accepit. Illi redditur, illi donatur; utrisque tamen una res donatur.⁸

In answer to the "murmuring" of the dreamer, who is astonished to find the Pearl among the blessed after little or no labor, she expresses precisely this doctrine:

Of more & lasse in Godez ryche
 Pat gentyl sayde, lys no joparde,
 For þer is vch mon payed inlyche,
 Wheþer lyttel oþer much be hys rewarde.⁹

In other words, "in vita aeterna omnes aequales erunt," whether the reward is "lyttel oþer much"; or "quamvis enim meritorum

⁷ *NED. s. v. eleventh.*

⁸ Col. 533.

⁹ 601-604.

diversitate fulgebunt. . . . aequalis erit omnibus."¹⁰ There is certainly no heresy here.¹¹ Just as St. Augustine and Bruno use the parable as a basis for warnings against despair and vain hope,¹² the author of *The Pearl* uses it to show that anyone, no matter what he has done in the past, may through repentance regain sufficient purity of spirit to achieve his reward.¹³ The phrase "in euentyde" simply emphasizes the fact that the Pearl, who died in infancy, had been baptized only at the eleventh hour. A re-examination of the evidence has shown that the interpretation and use of the Parable of the Vineyard in *The Pearl* are consistent with Medieval exegetical tradition.

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THE PEARL AS A SYMBOL

In discussions of *The Pearl* it has not been possible to formulate consistent symbolic value for the central figure in the poem which would meet with more than temporary or qualified acceptance. A re-examination of some of the relevant Scriptural commentary may yield a satisfactory value. Usually when commentaries are consulted, the result is a confusing list of possible symbols, none of which seems entirely consistent with the poem.¹ J. B. Fletcher made the Pearl a symbol of innocence, the possessor of innocence, or the

¹⁰ Cf. the doctrine which Fletcher, *op. cit.*, 17-18, found in St. Thomas: "Just as one man can get more good out of a penny than another, so one spirit in the presence of God can realize him more fully than another."

¹¹ In stanza 38 it is said that in the celestial city everyone is "quen oper kyng." This is not heresy either, but a reference to the symbolism of the denarius. Rabanus comments, *PL*, 107, 1028-1029, "Denarius figuram regis habet. Recipisti ergo mercedem quam tibi promiseram imaginem et similitudinem meam." In the celestial city where the distorting forces of cupidity do not operate, the human soul is the true image of God, the King.

¹² *Loc. cit.*

¹³ See stanza 56 and the final stanza of the poem. In a future note, I shall discuss the meaning of the pearl symbol and the theme of the poem. A more detailed discussion of all of these matters is being prepared at Princeton by Mr. W. J. Knightley.

¹ Such a list may be found in Professor Osgood's note to ll. 735-742, on pp. 82-83 of his edition.

means and reward of salvation.² More recently, Sister Mary Hillman has said that the Pearl stands for a gem, the soul, or the kingdom of Heaven.³ It may be shown, I believe, that both of these interpretations are in a sense fundamentally correct. It is stated clearly in the poem that the Pearl is among the hundred and forty-four thousand brides of the Lamb in the Celestial Jerusalem.⁴ Her symbolic value should therefore be consistent with that of these brides.

In the set of homilies on the Apocalypse attributed to St. Augustine, the virgin brides are said to represent all members of the Church of pure faith, regardless of sex. It is explained on the authority of St. Paul that all good Christians should be chaste virgins prepared to marry Christ; that is, they should keep themselves free of the pollutions of heresy and worldly cupidity:

Hi sunt qui se cum mulieribus non coinquinaverunt, etc. (Apoc. 14.4). *virgines hoc loco non solum corpore castos intelligamus, sed maxime omnem Ecclesiam, quae fidem puram tenet, sicut dicit Apostolos, Sponsavi enim vos uni viro, virginem castam exhibere Christo* (2 Cor. 11.2): *nulla adulterina haereticorum commixtione pollutam, nec in male blandis et mortiferis hujus mundi voluptatibus usque ad exitum vitae suae absque remedio poenitentiae infelici perseverantia colligatam.*⁵

It is explained further that through baptism and penance one may attain the purity necessary to a bride of Christ:

Addit post hoc dicens: Et in ore ipsorum non est inventum mendacium (v. 5). *Non dixit, non fuit; sed, non est inventum. Qualem enim invenit Dominus cum hinc evocat, talem et judicat: nam aut per Baptismum, aut per poenitentiam possumus in interiori homine et virgines effice et sine mendacio.*⁶

Assuming that this interpretation is relevant, we may conclude that the Pearl represents those who are free of heresy and sin and are thus suitable brides of Christ. The validity of our assumption depends upon whether or not it is consistent with the poem. It is

² "The Allegory of The Pearl," *JEGP* xx (1921), 1-21, esp. pp. 2, 12, 14.

³ "Some Debatable Words in *Pearl* and its Theme," *MLN*, LX (1945), 243.

⁴ Stanzas 66, 73; Apoc. 14.1. The "inaccuracy" of the number in stanza 66 represents, I believe, a sort of poetic license. It was possible to suggest a familiar Scriptural passage or devotional text merely by hinting at it, or by quoting it incompletely. The technique is familiar in sermons.

⁵ *PL*, 35, 2437.

⁶ *Loc. cit.* Note that "lying" is used figuratively.

obvious at once that the interpretation elucidates the last stanza of the poem, where it is urged that all readers become "precious perle3" of Christ. The poet wishes all of his audience to become suitable brides of the Lamb, or, in other words, to prepare themselves for residence in the Celestial City.⁷ But it is also obvious that the Pearl is something more than simply a good Christian.

A commentary on the Apocalypse by Bruno Astensis furnishes a means of classifying the various brides in the Celestial procession. Together they are said to represent "omnem Ecclesiae multitudinem." Their number, however, is symbolic, so that the various parts of the number indicate a division among the virgins:

Merito ergo beatus Joannes centum quadraginta quatuor millia cum Agno stantes vidisse describitur, ut per centum summam virginum perfectionem, per quadraginta vero, omnes peccatores ad veram poenitentiam conversos: per quatuor autem cunctos Evangeliorum observatores, qui quasi quadrati lapides, semper firmi et stabiles in fide perstiterunt.⁸

Some of the brides have never sinned and are in the highest state of virginal perfection; some are reformed sinners; and some are those who have been stable in the faith. Since the Pearl embraced the faith in infancy at the eleventh hour,⁹ she must be placed in the first of these classifications. Other baptized Christians may be "pearls" too, as the last stanza of the poem indicates, but only if through penance they can approach the unspotted condition of the Pearl.

In the course of the poem it is emphasized that the Pearl is "wythouten spot," or, as it is phrased in the language of the Vulgate, *sine macula*. It is significant that all of the brides of the Lamb in the Apocalypse are said to be *sine macula* (Apoc. 14. 5). More positively, the condition of being *sine macula* is a necessary prerequisite to a place in the Celestial City. The doctrine is expressed positively in Psalm 14:

*Domine, quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo,
aut quis requiescat in monte sancto tuo?
Qui ingreditur sine macula. . . .*

⁷ There is nothing "mystical" about this desire, or about the process of becoming a bride of Christ. To the Medieval mind, one becomes either a bride of Christ or a servant of Satan; there is no alternative.

⁸ PL, 165, 680.

⁹ See "The 'Heresy' of *The Pearl*."

The sacred mountain represents eternal life, or, as St. Augustine put it, "supereminentiam charitas Christi in vita aeterna."¹⁰ Quoting earlier authorities, Lombard glosses *sine macula* as "innocens."¹¹ In other words, a state of innocence, or freedom from spiritual blemish, is necessary to salvation.

As an infant who died shortly after baptism, the Pearl may be thought of as the archetype of innocence. That is, she represents the most clearly definable extreme of a condition which it is necessary for all Christians (in the Medieval sense) to attain before salvation is possible. In general, as Dante observed:

Fede ed innocenza son reperte
solo nei parvoletti; poi ciascuna
pria fugge che le guance sien coperte.¹²

In adults, this childlike innocence must be restored, so that the soul is *sine macula*. The *Pearl* poet puts it, "þe innocent is ay saf by ryȝt," a theme which he elaborates in stanza 61:

Jesus con calle to hym hys mylde,
& sayde hys ryche no wyȝ myȝt wynne
Bot he com þyder ryȝt as a chylde,
Oþer elleȝ neuer more com þerinne.
725 Harmleȝ, trwe, & vndefylde,
Wythouten mote oþer mascle of sulpande synne—
Quen such þer cnoken on þe bylde,
Tyt schal hem men þe ȝate vnþynne.
Per is þe blys þat con not blynne
730 Pat þe jueler soȝte þurȝ perre pres,
& solde alle hys goud, boþe wolen & lynne,
To bye hym a perle watȝ mascelleȝ.

The "jueler" referred to is the *negotiator* of Matt. 13. 45-46, who sold all of his jewels for a pearl of great price. In the next stanza, this Scriptural text is interpreted, and it is said in effect that the pearl of great price is the life in the Celestial City, for the sake of which we are advised to forsake the "worlde wode," or cupidity for temporalia. The Pearl herself possesses such a pearl which she wears as a token on her breast:

¹⁰ *PL*, 36, 143.

¹¹ *PL*, 191, 168.

¹² *Paradiso*, 27. 127-129

- This maskelle3 perle, þat bo3t is dere,
 Þe joueler gef fore alle hys god,
 735 Is lyke þe reme of heuenesse clere;
 So sayde þe Fader of folde & flode;
 For hit is wemle3, clene, & clere,
 & endele3 rounde, & blyþe of mode,
 & commune to alle þat ry3twys were.
 740 Lo, euen in mydde3 my breste hit stode!
 My Lorde þe Lombe, þat schede hys blode,
 He py3t hit þere in token of pes.
 I rede þe forsake þe worlde wode,
 & porchace þy perle maskelles.

It should be observed that lines 733-735 do not represent a quotation or paraphrase of the Scriptural text, where the Kingdom of God is compared with the merchant. The lines state a conclusion or *sentence* based on the text. A similar interpretation is given by Bruno Astensis:

Simile est igitur regnum coelorum, id est sancta Ecclesia, homini negotiatori, quoniam sicut ille unius margaritae desiderio omnia vendidit, et eam emit; ita et ista pro amore patriae coelestis et aeternae felicitatis, non solum ea quae habuit vendidit, verum etiam se ipsum servituti subjugavit, ut eam emere et possidere valeat.

The members of the earthly church, that is, renounce what they have in this world in order to obtain the pearl "aeternae felicitatis." Basically, this is a traditional interpretation of the parable.¹³

The Pearl, who, as we have seen, may be considered to represent the archetype of innocence, wears on her breast the symbol of eternal life which was placed there by Christ. The appropriateness of this arrangement is obvious when we reflect that only through the Redemption may those who are *sine macula* attain the pearl of eternal felicity. The relation between the Pearl and the jeweller's pearl is clearly expressed in the opening lines of Psalm 14 already quoted. These lines say, in terms of the poem, that only those who are pearls (*sine macula*) will obtain the pearl of the celestial life. The Pearl thus not only typifies innocence; she typifies those who dwell in the Celestial City, or, since such folk determine the character of eternal life, she typifies that life also. We arrive at the

¹³ Cf. Bede, *PL*, 92, 69, where the pearl is the celestial life; Rabanus, who quotes St. Gregory, *PL*, 107, 953. The authority of Gregory, Bede, and Rabanus is certainly sufficient to establish a tradition. Of the passages cited by Professor Osgood, pp. 82-83, not all refer to this parable.

conclusion, then, that the Pearl typifies both the characteristics necessary to life in the New Jerusalem and that life. The pearl of the parable and the Pearl of the poem are two aspects of one symbol.

Perhaps this conclusion may be clarified by applying it to the poem as a whole. At the beginning of the poem, the dreamer is described as one who has lost a pearl. The meaning of this situation is clear if we consider the dreamer to be not the poet but any typical adult. What he has lost is the innocence or spotlessness of childhood,¹⁴ and concomitantly eternal life in the Celestial City. His vision of the Pearl is a device by means of which the poet may impress upon his audience, the members of which are in much the same situation as the dreamer, the necessity for regaining and maintaining a life of innocence. To this end he stresses what is for him the captivating beauty of innocence and of the Celestial City. The love of innocence and that of eternal life are corollary to the first precept of charity, which is a matter of the heart. Only when the will is turned toward charity is the individual capable of a state of grace. The beauty of the poem, which was intended to move the hearts of its audience toward charity, thus rests on a sound theological basis. To most Medieval thinkers, it is necessary for the reason to grasp a concept before the will can desire what that concept represents. This fact accounts for the elaborate doctrinal exposition in the poem. The poet wished his audience to understand the concept of innocence and that of the *denarius* awarded those who realize innocence. He also wished his audience to desire these things.

The symbol of the Pearl may be thought of on four levels. Literally, the Pearl is a gem. Allegorically, as the maiden of the poem, it represents those members of the Church who will be among the "hundred" in the celestial procession, the perfectly innocent. Tropologically, the Pearl is a symbol of the soul that attains innocence through true penance and all that such penance implies. Anagogically, it is the life of innocence in the Celestial City. The allegorical value presents a clear picture of the type of innocence; the tropological value shows how such innocence may be obtained; and the anagogical value explains the reward for innocence. To these meanings the literal value serves as a unifying focal point in which the other values are implied to one who reads the book of

¹⁴ It should be stressed that this lost innocence is not necessarily sexual.

God's Work on the level of the *sentence*. The homiletic purpose of the poem to which Sister Mary Vincent Hillman has called attention results from the poet's emphasis on the tropological level. The author wished the members of his audience to learn how to become through Christ's Redemption "precious perle; vnto his pay."

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WANDERER, LINES 50-57

50		sorg bið geniwad
	þonne maga gemynd	mod geond-hweorfeð
	greteð gliw-stafum	georne geond-sceawað
	seega geseldan	swimmað eft on-weg
	fleotendra ferð.	no þær fela bringeð
55	cūðra cwide-giedda	cearo bið geniwad
	þam þe sendan sceal	swiþe geneahhe
	ofer waþema gebind	werigne sefan. ¹

This passage is usually interpreted as describing a gloomy vision of the ghosts of dead or absent friends and kinsmen, who appear before the Wanderer long enough to be inspected and who then drift off into the void. Thus Wyatt renders *fleotendra* as 'of the floaters in the air (revenants)';² Miss Kershaw has: 'His warrior comrades again melt away, and as they vanish their spirits bring no familiar greetings to his ear,' etc.;³ in a recent ingenious analysis of the poem we hear of 'the wanderer eagerly greeting his shadow kinsmen.'⁴

¹ *The Exeter Book*, ed. Gollancz (London, 1895), p. 288. The punctuation depends on the interpretation. Gollancz's translation of the passage is discreetly vague. Sweet, *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, ninth edition, p. 221, dismisses the crucial lines 53-54 as 'very obscure.' In 53b there is no obvious need to emend the MS. *oft* to *eft*, if we take *oft* in the well-established sense of 'usually, regularly; invariably'; but no doubt the emendation is an improvement.

² *Anglo-Saxon Reader* (Cambridge, 1919), p. 263.

³ *Anglo-Saxon and Norse Poems* (Cambridge, 1922), p. 11. This rendering is accepted by Krapp and Dobbie, *The Exeter Book* (New York and London, 1936), p. 290. I am not without the suspicion that it rests on a confusion between *spirit* 'mind, soul' and *spirit* 'ghost, spectre,' the latter a sense quite untenable for *ferð*.

⁴ Bernard J. Huppé, 'The Wanderer: Theme and Structure,' *JEGP*, XLII

A glance at Bosworth-Toller will show that the senses attributed to *swimman* and *fleotan* in these interpretations are suspicious: the words seem to be confined in Old English to contexts dealing with water. The proposed sense of *swimman* is evidently *OED*'s 5: 'To glide with a smooth or waving motion,' of which the earliest example in *OED* is dated 1553; or 6: 'To move, or appear to move, as if gliding or floating on water; *esp.* to move, glide, or be suspended in the air or ether . . .,' of which the earliest example is dated 1661.⁵ A comparable sense for *fleotan*: 'Of mists, clouds, spirits, an odour: To float (in air, etc.); to drift,' is cited from the fourteenth century (*OED*. s.v. *fleet*, v. 1, quoting *Pearl*, 46); the sense evidently attributed to the word by Miss Kershaw (*OED*'s sense 10) appears first under 1200.⁶ In either case, but especially in the case of *swimman*, the ghosts seem to have appeared some centuries too early; and indeed such a use of the supernatural would be strange in Old English poetry.

A more realistic approach is suggested by Sedgefield when he observes that 'the wanderer is now thought of as rowing or sailing on the sea'; he renders:

his sorrow is renewed when the memory of his kinsmen passes through his mind, he greets with song and eagerly scans the companions of warriors (i.e. the occupants of other vessels), but they sail away again (unresponsive, for) the mind of seafarers does not recall many of the familiar songs; grief is renewed for him who time after time . . . has to send his weary thoughts across the expanse of waters (i.e. keep a look-out ahead of the vessel).⁷

(1943), 532. To the same effect: E. Sieper, *Die Altenglische Elegie* (Strassburg, 1915), p. 280; R. Imelmann, *Forschungen zur Altenglischen Poesie* (Berlin, 1920), p. 135; C. W. Kennedy, *The Earliest English Poetry* (New York, 1943), p. 107.

⁵ See especially the quotations under sense 6b: 'Said of the apparent motion of objects before the eyes of a person whose sight is troubled or blurred' (first quotation under 1678). I can find nothing in Bosworth-Toller or *OED*. to justify Miss Kershaw's 'melt away' or Imelmann's 'zerfließt'; even if such a sense could be imposed on *swimman* as a figure, the sense required for *onweg* is not Old English: it is *OED*'s sense 5: 'From the actual state or condition; from existence; into extinction or termination . . . to death, to an end, to nothing.' This is first quoted under 1340, and nothing comparable is recorded in Bosworth-Toller.

⁶ Or perhaps rather sense 9b: 'Of immaterial things: To fade or vanish, die out,' first quoted under 1576. Cf. Sieper's translation: '... Der Entweichenden Geist bringt wenig mir / Traulicher Reden.'

⁷ *Anglo-Saxon Verse Book* (Manchester and London, 1922), pp. 154-155.

This lays the ghosts satisfactorily; but the Wanderer's inspection of passing sailors is a feat too remarkable to be credible. More important, the interpretation of 56-57 as 'keep a look-out ahead of the vessel' is harsh, and destroys the parallelism of 50b-51 and 55b-57 which is demanded by the obviously parallel opening phrases *sorg bið geniwad* and *cearo bið geniwad*: 56-57 ought to be a variation of 51. But if the senses of *swimman* and *fleotan* postulated here are justified, we can remove the difficulties of Sedgefield's interpretation by supposing the Wanderer to be, not at sea, but on the coast.⁸ Specifically, let him be at a sea-port in his country of exile, watching the waves, the sea-birds, and the gloomy weather (46-48). Then render approximately as Sedgefield; but *secga geseldan* will now be sailors visiting the port; the Wanderer greets them hopefully and scans their faces eagerly, [looking for a familiar countenance; but he finds none, and] they sail away; the mind of the seafarers⁹ has not brought many familiar sayings (i.e. they have brought none at all; they have brought no report of his homeland); and his sorrow is renewed when he must send out his heart again *ofer wapema gebind*, to his kinsmen and to the home from which he came (24) *ofer wapema gebind*.¹⁰

It must however be admitted that the evidence for *swimmað* 'sail' and *fleotendra* 'of seafarers' is at best only less unsatisfactory than for 'melt away' and 'floaters in the air' and the like. Bosworth-Toller indeed renders to this effect; but inspection will show that Bosworth-Toller provides no support for its own render-

⁸ A hint to this effect is thrown out by Imelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 136; but he makes nothing further of it, and follows the general lines of the conventional interpretation.

⁹ A phrase which seemed unconvincing to Imelmann, who emends to *ferd*, with the dubious gloss 'Schar'; *OED.* records this sense first under 1297, and Bosworth-Toller's examples all carry a specifically military connotation. But if the visitors had brought *fela cuðra cwidegiedda*, they would have brought them, logically enough, in their *ferð*.

¹⁰ The precise meaning of this disputed phrase is not relevant to my argument unless it is 'the surface of the sea frozen solid'; in which case, it might be argued in the interests of a strictly accurate picture, the sailors could not enter or leave the port; cf. *Beowulf* 1129b-1133a. We need not, of course, postulate such accuracy from our poet. If the *fealwe weg*as of 46 are the same as *wapema gebind*, the waves can hardly be frozen. In any case they were negotiable when the Wanderer set out from his original home (24), and unless he walked over the ice he presumably sailed over the waves. See Miss Kershaw's note, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

ings. Thus its version of 54-55a (s. v. *fleotan*) merely reproduces verbatim the translation of Thorpe, whose puzzlement over the whole passage is indicated by his mistranslation of *geseldan* and his attempt to emend *swimmað*.¹¹ It quotes *secga . . . onweg* as one sentence (which it probably is not), s. v. *swimman*, sense II: 'of a vessel moving on water'; but no vessel is mentioned in the context. The other quotations under this sense (*Riddle* 23 and Aelfric's *Homilies*) show the word used as a metaphor applied to a ship or similar object actually in the water, and not to the occupants of a ship.

The sense required for *fleotendra* 'of seafarers' is not in fact supported until Lagamon: see *OED*. s. v. *fleet*, sense 5: 'Of a person: To be afloat (in a vessel); to journey or travel by water; to sail,' quoting *Brut* 28960. *OED*. s. v. *swim* reproduces Bosworth-Toller's quotation of our line without comment under sense 3: 'To move or float along on the surface of the water, as a ship'; but, again, every other quotation mentions or implies a ship and not its occupants. In any case the line ought surely to have been quoted under sense 3b: 'To be conveyed by a body floating on the water'; the earliest example of this sense actually given is Chaucer, *Miller's Tale* 364 (= A 3550); a clear case, but admittedly late for our purpose. If this Middle English evidence can be considered sufficient—it is at least as good as that for the spectral interpretation—the modification of Sedgfield's version suggested above may stand.

To emend the passage convincingly is beyond my present ingenuity. If we could assume *fleotende* to have a quasi-substantial sense, 'the floating one' = 'ship,' then we might read:

swimmeð eft on weg
fleotende forð: no þær fela bringeð etc.

'The ship sails on, away again: it does not bring there' etc. For *forð* cf. Exeter Book fol. 113a, where *for-* is three times misspelt *fer-*; and the dubious *ferðweg* (for *forðweg*?), fol. 119a. I can find no parallel to such a use of *fleotende*, but it is at least closer to the normal sense of the verb than 'floaters in the air.' Finally, if anyone should decide that the passage is desperately corrupt and in need of a corresponding remedy, he could find it in the Exeter Book, fol. 119b:

fleot on faroðe nah ic fela goldes.

¹¹ *Codex Exoniensis* (London, 1842), p. 289.

Then read in our passage:

swimmeð eft on weg
fleet on far[o]ð[e]: no þær fela bringeð etc.

'The ship sails away on the sea; it does not bring there' etc. The interpretation remains essentially as before: the *fleetende* or the *fleet* is the ship of *secga geseldan* visiting the Wanderer's country of exile, and is momentarily personified as a messenger in 54b-55a.

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THOMAS MANN AUF DEM WEGE ZU FREUD

Im Jahre 1929 erschien in der Zeitschrift *Die psychoanalytische Bewegung* ein Aufsatz von Thomas Mann mit dem Titel "Die Stellung Freuds in der modernen Geistesgeschichte."¹ Es war Thomas Manns erste essayistische Äusserung über den Begründer der Psychoanalyse. In diesem ersten Aufsatz findet sich eine interessante Seite, in der der Einfluss abgemessen wird, den Freud auf Manns eigenes Werk gehabt habe: "Der Begriff der Beeinflussung ist mysteriös"; heisst es hier, "was man so nennt, ist oft so mittelbarer, atmosphärischer und geistiger Natur, dass das Wort zur plumpen Vergröberung des Vorganges wird. Als ich meinen Roman "Der Zauberberg" schrieb, in den ja die Psychoanalyse humoristisch hineinspielt, wusste ich von Freud nicht mehr als das Allgemeinste; ich hatte keine seiner Schriften ernstlich gelesen." (29) Und nun zerlegt er Hans Castorps biologische Studien, in denen er Freudische Gedanken besonders deutlich durchschimmern sieht. Sonderbar, Thomas Mann sollte also Freud während der Arbeit am *Zauberberg* wirklich nur mittelbar, nur vom Hörensagen gekannt haben? Das scheint uns zunächst ganz unglaublich, wenn wir uns den Roman im Einzelnen wie im Gesamten einen Augenblick ins Gedächtnis zurückrufen. Wir entsinnen uns etwa der Vorträge Dr. Krokowskis, wir denken an diese Figur selbst mit ihren Abwegigkeiten. Krokowski war sicherlich nicht als Portrait Freuds gemeint, und doch gibt es da gewisse Züge, die von Ferne

¹ *Die psychoanalytische Bewegung* I (1929) 3-32.

an den Forscher erinnern, gelegentlich scheint sogar der Stil Freuds mit der rhetorischen Frage, stark satirisch gefärbt freilich, anzuklingen. Mehr aber noch sind es einzelne Details, die eine genaue Kenntnis Freuds voraussetzen scheinen. Wenn Castorp in dem Traum der ersten Nacht Frau Iltis mit einem Rasierapparat sitzen sieht, so ist hier sicherlich von Freudischer Traumsymbolik Gebrauch gemacht. Ist es möglich, dass Mann trotzdem Freud nur oberflächlich gekannt hat? Vielleicht sollten wir hier erwähnen, dass Thomas Mann gerade die von uns herangezogene Seite ausliess, als er den Aufsatz in den Sammelband *Die Forderung des Tages* (196-224) aufnahm. Thomas Mann hat häufig solche Streichungen persönlicher Stellen beim Neudruck seiner essayistischen Werke vorgenommen; aber wir fragen uns hier doch unwillkürlich, ob bei dieser Streichung nicht mehr als nur ästhetische Gründe eine Rolle spielten. Um diese Frage zu beantworten, müssen wir weiter zurückgreifen und Manns Einstellung in den vorhergehenden Jahren näher zu ergründen suchen.

Im Jahre 1925, also ein Jahr nach Abschluss des *Zauberbergs*, gab Thomas Mann einem Berichterstatter der italienischen Zeitung *Stampa* ein Interview, das wie ein Pendant zu der vorhererwähnten Äusserung dazustehen scheint: "Was mich betrifft, so ist mindestens eine meiner Arbeiten, die Novelle "Der Tod in Venedig," unter dem unmittelbaren Einfluss von Freud entstanden. Ich hätte ohne Freud niemals daran gedacht, dieses erotische Motiv zu behandeln, oder hätte es gewiss anders gestaltet. Wenn es erlaubt ist, es militärisch auszudrücken, so möchte ich sagen, dass die These Sigmund Freuds eine Art Generaloffensive gegen das Unbewusste mit dem Ziel seiner Eroberung darstellt. Als Künstler muss ich allerdings gestehen, dass ich ganz und gar nicht befriedigt von den Freudschen Ideen bin, ich fühle mich vielmehr beunruhigt und verkleinert durch sie. Wird doch der Künstler von Freuds Ideen wie von einem Bündel X-Strahlen durchleuchtet, und das bis zur Verletzung des Geheimnisses seiner Schöpfungstat."² Hier also spricht Mann von unmittelbarem Einfluss Freuds auf den *Tod in Venedig*, und der *Zauberberg* war ja ursprünglich als Gegenstück und Fortsetzung dieser Novelle geplant. Sicherlich fällt es nicht

² Wiedergegeben in *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse* XI (1925) 247; ebenso A. Sorani, "A Letter from Italy." *Saturday Review of Literature* II (1925) 13.

schwer, Freudische Motive und Ideen im *Tod in Venedig* zu finden; ja wir könnten noch weiter zurückgreifen: in dem 1909 abgeschlossenen Roman *Königliche Hoheit* mutet die Figur der Gräfin Löwenjaul fast schon wie eine Studie in der Freudischen Verdrängungshypothese an. Müssen wir dann also jene Seite in dem Freudaufsatz von 1929, die Verleugnung der direkten Kenntnis von Freud, als wissentlich oder unwissentlich trügerisch ablehnen, oder gibt es nicht doch eine Erklärung, die den Widerspruch auflöst?

Wenn wir die Äusserung von 1925 genauer betrachten, so fällt der negative, kritische Unterton auf, der darin, neben aller Bewunderung, durchklingt. Thomas Mann fühlt sich als Künstler ganz und gar nicht befriedigt, er fühlt sich beunruhigt und verkleinert von der Röntgendurchstrahlung der Psychoanalyse. Und nun halten wir damit die Schilderung zusammen, die diese Wissenschaft im *Zauberberg* erfährt. Wenn Castorp sie zu Anfang widerlich (22) findet (ursprünglich hiess es ekelhaft), oder wenn Settembrini sie nur begrüsst "als Werkzeug der Aufklärung und der Zivilisation," sie aber ablehnt als eine "sehr unappetitliche Sache, unappetitlich wie der Tod, zu dem sie doch wohl eigentlich gehören mag," sie ablehnt, "weil sie das Leben an den Wurzeln schädigt" (375),³ so wird es zunächst nicht ganz klar, wie weit diese Äusserungen die Meinung des Autors wiedergeben, wie weit sie nicht mehr oder weniger nur zur Charakterisierung der Romanfiguren dienen. Jedoch hat gerade Settembrinis Urteil eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit mit Manns Anschauungen in dem Interview von 1925. Aber weit deutlicher kommt das Negative zum Ausdruck in der Figur Krokowskis und in seinen Vorträgen. Hermann Weigand hat überzeugend klar gemacht in seinem Buch über den *Zauberberg*,⁴ dass Thomas Mann selbst jene Anschauung Krokowskis teile, nach der körperliche Krankheit nur ein Ausdruck geistiger Verdrängung sei. Trotzdem will mir scheinen, dass das unsympathische Bild des Psychoanalytikers wie der Psychoanalyse selbst mehr ist als nur Ausdruck ästhetisch ausgleichender Gerechtigkeit. Allzu sehr ist hier tief Fragwürdiges mit Wissenschaft und Wissenschaftler verknüpft. Es trifft den Leser doch wie ein Chok, wenn er den Helden der Geschichte in jene Sphären hinabsteigen sieht und wirkt wirk-

³ Ich gebe die Zitate nach der Ausgabe in *Gesammelte Werke*. Berlin, 1925.

⁴ *Thomas Mann's Novel Der Zauberberg*. New York, London, 1933.

lich wie ein Verrat an dem geraden Joachim. Und gerade diese Verknüpfung von Wissenschaft und Fragwürdigkeit ist es ja auch, die Settembrini tadelt, der also in diesem Punkte doch nur zum Sprecher für den Autor wird.

So scheint es also, als ob Thomas Manns Stellung zu Freud eine starke Wandlung habe durchmachen müssen, ehe er zu dem reinen Lob kommt, das er im Freudaufsatz von 1929 ausspricht. Und das führt wieder zu der Vermutung, dass diese Wandlung symptomatisch ist für ein eingehenderes Studium Freuds in diesen Jahren. Wirklich lässt sich ein solches Studium leicht nachweisen. Das Interview von 1925 ist ja wie ein Auftakt dazu, und am Schluss von diesem Interview heisst es: "Ein noch unveröffentlichter kleiner Aufsatz von Thomas Mann "Mein Verhältnis zur Psychoanalyse" wird im Herbst im *Almanach des internationalen psychoanalytischen Verlages* erscheinen." Nun dieser Aufsatz ist nicht erschienen, oder vielmehr, er ist eben erst vier Jahre später erschienen, der Grund war sicherlich, dass Thomas Mann erst ein weiteres, eingehenderes Studium für nötig hielt. Die Jahre von 1925 bis 1929 sind auch die Jahre, in denen der erste Band der Josephstetralogie sich zu formen beginnt, und es ist bekannt und oft ausgeführt worden vom Autor selbst wie von seinen Kritikern und Biographen, dass Manns Interesse an dieser Geschichte, sein Interesse am Mythos und sein Interesse an Freud in vielfacher Weise verknüpft und verwoben sind und eine Einheit bilden. Kurz es wird ganz deutlich, dass Mann in den Jahren von 1925 bis 1929 das Werk Freuds intensiv studierte. Wir werden später noch weitere Beweise hierfür anbringen.

Und nun fragen wir uns noch einmal, wie weit Manns Kenntnisse der Psychoanalyse in der vorhergehenden Periode vom *Tod in Venedig* zum *Zauberberg* darauf zurückgeführt werden müssen, dass er mit den Werken Freuds vertraut war, wie weit nicht die verwandte Entwicklung Manns und das Hörensagen zur Erklärung ausreichen. Es ist schon geradezu zum Gemeinplatz geworden, dass die Romantik, dass Schopenhauer und Nietzsche die Anschauungen und das Werk Freuds vorweggenommen haben, Schopenhauer und Nietzsche zwei der drei grossen Urerlebnisse Thomas Manns. Das Interesse für die Krankheit, Krankheit als gewollte Form des Lebens, als Steigerung, die Rolle des Traumes als Ausdruck der Verdrängung, das alles war schon da. Und daneben

waren eine Reihe von wissenschaftlichen Details der Psychoanalyse, die Traumsymbolik etwa, in richtig oder falsch verstandener Form Gemeingut der Zeit geworden oder konnten bei nur oberflächlicher Kenntnisnahme von Freund und Feind leicht aufgenommen werden. Ein oberflächliches Wissen, ein intuitives Erfassen nur der Hauptzüge, ein flüchtiges Lesen des einen oder anderen Werkes von Freud, das wäre dann alles, was genügte. Tatsächlich lassen sich, näher besehen, so alle Freudischen Elemente in Manns Werken vor 1925 erklären; und gerade die negative Haltung, die doch auch viel Misverstehen einschliesst, liesse sich so viel besser begreifen. Ein Beispiel: Castorps Beziehung zu Frau Chauchat als Wiederholung seiner Beziehung zu Pribislav Hippe hat man vielfach als charakteristisch für den Einfluss Freuds ausgelegt; aber nun findet sich genau dasselbe Motiv, weniger deutlich allerdings, schon in *Tonio Kröger* in dem Paar: Hans Hansen, Ingeborg Holm; oder man denke an einige der früheren Studien Manns; *Tobias Minder-nickel*, *Der Weg zum Friedhof*, *Der Wille zum Glück*, wo Freudische Elemente so stark vorhanden zu sein scheinen. In all diesen Fällen kommt natürlich ein Einfluss Freuds nicht in Frage, sei denn indirekt. So dürfen wir also auch die Freudischen Elemente im *Tod in Venedig* und im *Zauberberg* nur zum kleinsten Teil auf Freud direkt zurückführen. Ein anderes Faktum macht das umso deutlicher. Hans Castorp gibt sich, wie wir erinnern, bei seinem Aufenthalt im *Zauberberg* mit Eifer dem Studium medizinischer und naturwissenschaftlicher Werke, und die Beschreibung dieser Studien ist zweifellos der Niederschlag von Manns eigenen Bemühungen in jener Zeit; aber gerade hier fehlt jedes Eingehen auf die Psychoanalyse; sie wird nur in den Vorträgen Krokowskis behandelt und da eben doch in einer recht allgemeinen Weise. Gerade jene Sitzungen Krokowskis, die übrigens ein doch ziemlich unberechtigtes Aroma erhalten, werden nicht dargestellt; die Tür zu Krokowskis Ordinationszimmer wird erst geöffnet, als es sich um die Beschreibung des Okkultismus handelt, von dem eben Thomas Mann, wie wir wissen, genaue Kenntnisse hatte.

Kurz, Thomas Mann hatte 1929 doch recht, zur Zeit des *Zauberbergs* wusste er nur das Allgemeinste von dem Werk Freuds. Noch 1944 gesteht er in einem Brief: "One could be influenced in this sphere without any direct contact with his work, because for a long time the air had been filled with the thoughts and results of

the psychoanalytic school." ⁵ Und gerade das Bekenntnis von 1929 und, dass er von einem humorvollen Hineinspielen spricht, hat etwas wie ein sich entschuldigendes Vertuschen, fast etwas wie ein schlechtes Gewissen, das er seiner früheren negativen Einstellung gegenüber empfindet, ein Abrücken. Und es ist nun auch verständlich, dass er diese Konfession später wieder tilgte. Und so erscheint auch das Interview von 1925 nicht einfach als leichtfertige Uebertreibung: *Der Tod in Venedig* ist tatsächlich unter dem Einfluss der Psychoanalyse entstanden, wenn auch mehr mittelbar, als Thomas Mann es damals, zur Zeit als sein neues Interesse erwachte, wahrhaben wollte. ⁶

Mit all dem stimmt es genau überein, wenn Frederick Hoffman in seinem Buch *Freudianism and the Literary Mind* so nebenbei in einer Fussnote bemerkt (offenbar auf Grund persönlicher Information durch den Dichter): "Mann's first reading of the major works of Freud began in 1925. This fact may explain the interesting mixture of Schopenhauerian and psychoanalytic phraseology in Dr. Krokowski's lectures." ⁷ Und in dem Vortrag, den Thomas Mann 1936 zu Ehren des achzigsten Geburtstags von Freud hielt, gesteht er, dass er erst spät, "viel später, als man bei der Verwandtschaft des dichterisch-schriftstellerischen Impulses überhaupt und meiner Natur im besonderen mit dieser Wissenschaft hätte erwarten sollen" zur Psychoanalyse gekommen ist; ⁸ und etwas später verbessert er sich: "sie kam zu mir"; denn er erkannte in ihr "das Urvertraute in meinem geistigen Erleben." ⁹ Dabei ist es eigentümlich wie 1929 und 1936 die Psychoanalyse in vielem ähnlich gesehen wird wie vorher: das aufklärerische Element sowohl, wie das Hinabsteigen in romantische Tiefen wird betont; nur das beides jetzt rein positiv gewertet wird.

Und so scheint im Rückblick die negative Einstellung bis 1925

⁵ Frederick J. Hoffman, *Freudianism and the Literary Mind*. Baton Rouge, 1945, p. 211.

⁶ Der bekannte Psychoanalytiker Hanns Sachs gibt eine interessante Studie von Manns Novelle vom Standpunkt der Analyse: Hanns Sachs, Das Thema Tod. *Imago* III (1914) 456-461. Es wäre denkbar, dass Thomas Mann etwa 1925 auf diesen Aufsatz gestossen ist und sich davon hat beeinflussen lassen.

⁷ Hoffmann, Anm. 62.

⁸ Thomas Mann, *Adel des Geistes*. Stockholm, 1945, p. 579.

⁹ Ebenda p. 579/80.

fast wie der anfängliche Widerstand des Patienten gegen die psychoanalytische Behandlung, und man könnte den Autor mit seinem Helden identifizieren, wenn er diesen ziemlich zu Anfang des *Zauberbergs* träumen lässt: er "sah sich alsbald in der Lage, Zuflucht vor Dr. Krokowski suchen zu müssen, der ihm nachstellte, um Seelenzergliederung mit ihm vorzunehmen, wovon Hans Castorp eine tolle, eine wahrhaft unsinnige Angst empfand. Er floh vor dem Doktor behinderten Fusses . . . suchte in seiner Notlage sogar die rotbraune Fahnenstange zu erklettern und erwachte schwitzend in dem Augenblick, als der Verfolger ihn am Hosenbein packte." (155). Nun, Thomas Mann ist erwacht zu Freuds Werk und Idee. Wenn wirklich sich nun eine messerscharfe Verfeinerung und bewusste Vertiefung der psychologischen Erfassung im Joseph, im Goetheroman, in der indischen Legende und zuletzt noch in dem grossen Faustepos offenbart, wenn Thomas Mann sich hier in grandioser Weise einem mythisch-menschlichen Urbild nähert, so verdankt er das zu einem Teil auch, und wir seine Leser mit ihm, dem ernsthaften und genauen Studium der Psychoanalyse.

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THOMAS MANN AND THE MERMAID: A NOTE ON CONSTRUCTIVISTIC MUSIC

The appearance of *Die Entstehung des Doktor Faustus*¹ should have rebuked any possible doubt that the frequent occurrence of allusion, reference, and quotation in Mann's latest novel is consistently purposeful. He calls *Dr. Faustus* "a montage of factual, historical, personal, and literary data"² and he speaks of his growing inclination, during the time of its composition, "to prefer quotation to 'independent' invention."³ He asserts that he felt the novel had to partake of the nature of its subject, "had to be

¹ Amsterdam: Bermann-Fischer Verlag, 1949.

² *Ibid.*, p. 33. "... Aufmontieren von faktischen, historischen, persönlichen, ja literarischen Begebenheiten . . ." (I shall supply the original text whenever it is necessary for me to furnish an English translation of my own.)

³ *Ibid.*, p. 137. "Es stimmte . . . mit meiner eigenen . . . wachsenden Neigung überein . . . das Zitat der 'selbständigen' Erfindung vorzuziehen."

what it dealt with: namely constructivistic music."⁴ Clearly, then, the use of "quotation" throughout the novel is to be interpreted as the application of one of the techniques of musical constructivism.

How elaborate and impenetrable Mann's constructivism can be is best demonstrated by his account of the interweaving of dialog from *As You Like It*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, and *Two Gentlemen of Verona* into the passage of the novel that treats of Adrian's indirect proposal of marriage.⁵ It is difficult to ascertain whether it was Mann's love of the intricacy of his designs or a despair of being understood that prompted him to his comment on this revelation—the *sotto voce* remark that Zeitblom "is as little aware [of the allusions] as is the reader."⁶ In any case, the critic and scholar must choose either to castigate Thomas von der Trave⁷ for violating the rules of *Glasperlenspiel* by using allusions that are evocative only to himself, or to indulge in the dangerous but fascinating sport of pursuing relations between reference and referent whenever he believes he has found a clue. This note is dedicated to the second choice.

The theme of the mermaid—Hans Christian Andersen's little mermaid,⁸ who to gain an earthly lover and, perhaps, a mortal soul, exchanged her fishtail for a pair of legs at the price of enduring excruciating pain whenever she walked—this theme recurs so often in *Dr. Faustus* that it finally acquires the status of an important sub-motif. The little mermaid is a symbolic counterpart to Adrian Leverkühn, who, you will recall, likewise achieves a transformation at the price of pain. She is first alluded to by Old Harry in the dialog scene, at which time he suggests that she would make a lovely sweetheart for Adrian and offers to bring her to his bed.⁹ He refers

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 60. "Ich fühlte wohl, das mein Buch selbst das werde sein müssen, wovon es handelte, nämlich konstruktive Musik."

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 34 f.

⁶ *Loc. cit.* "... Adrian macht sich ein finsternes Vergnügen daraus, gegen Zeitblom, der ebensowenig etwas merkt wie der Leser, direkte Zitate aus diesen Stücken in seine Äusserung einfließen zu lassen."

⁷ Cf. Hermann Hesse, *Das Glasperlenspiel* (Zürich: Fretz und Wasmuth Verlag, 1943) I, 304 and *passim* for Mann's appearance as the Ludi Magister, Thomas von der Trave.

⁸ Hans Christian Andersen, *Fairy Tales and other Stories*, translated by W. A. and J. K. Craigie (London: Oxford University Press, 1914), pp. 63-86.

⁹ Thomas Mann, *Doktor Faustus* (Stockholm: Bermann-Fischer Verlag, 1948), p. 357. Hereafter cited as *DF*.

to her again in the dialogue, briefly and in passing, but in such fashion as to establish the motival function of the theme.¹⁰ When Adrian himself first reverts to it during a conversation with Zeitblom,¹¹ he specifically calls the little mermaid his "sister in affliction" and he elaborates on the fairy tale "with an objectivity that could only be in jest, but with drawn brows and reluctantly moving, half-articulating lips,"¹² averring that the piscine shape is more lovely than the human and that the prince would probably have loved her much more passionately in her original form—all in all a bizarre and sinister "division on a ground" and chronologically the first unmistakable indicium of Adrian's insanity.

There are three further citations of the theme by Zeitblom: two of them *en passant*, close together, at the beginning of his account of Adrian's composing of the "Apocalipsis cum figuris";¹³ the last as he approaches the end of his summation of that remarkable composition.¹⁴

Soullessness! I know this is at bottom what they mean who apply the word "barbaric" to Adrian's creation . . . I shall be forgiven for an argument more or less into the blue; but to call soullessness the yearning for a soul—the yearning of the little sea-maid—that is what I would characterize as barbarism, as inhumanity.¹⁵

The ultimate variation on the theme occurs in Adrian's mad monologue, just before his collapse.¹⁶

. . . she was my sister and my sweet bride and named Hyphialta.¹⁷ For

¹⁰ *DF.*, p. 364.

¹¹ *DF.*, pp. 526 ff. English versions of the text are taken from the authorized translation by H. T. Lowe-Porter, *Doctor Faustus*, New York: Alfred Knopf, 1948. Hereafter cited as *DFE.*

¹² *DFE.*, p. 344

¹³ *DF.*, pp. 539, 542.

¹⁴ *DF.*, p. 576.

¹⁵ *DFE.*, pp. 377 f.

¹⁶ *DF.*, pp. 758 f.

¹⁷ The Hyphialta allusion proved to be most difficult to identify. If Mann found the name in the *Malleus Maleficarum*, he had better luck than I. The only occurrence I have been able to find, but one which, fortunately, makes the allusion completely clear, is in Jean Bodin's *De la démonomanie des sorciers*, which I must quote from the Italian translation that is alone at my disposal: *Demonomania degli Stregoni* (In Venetia: Presso Aldo, 1590), p. 142. "And when the Sorcerers and Witches confess carnal embrace with a demon, many Doctors say that these are

he brought her to my bed . . . that I gan woo her and loved her ever more, whether she came to me with the fishes tail or with legs . . . Thereupon did Hyphialta get with child and accounted me a little son . . .¹⁸

The acme, indeed, of the grotesque and the revolting. And the ultimate in cunning and purposeful elaboration.

Of even greater interest, however, than the statement and development of this theme in *Dr. Faustus* is its broader sphere of allusion. That it belongs to the category of "personal data" is beyond doubt; for who could forget Ida Jungmann's reading of fairy tales to the Buddenbrook children—a situation that Mann drew from his own childhood, as Eloesser points out in his biography;¹⁹ and Mann himself, in the autobiographical sketch, "Lebensabriss," writes: "I have not mentioned for formative literary experiences of my childhood and early youth, the ineradicable impression that Anderson's fairy tales made upon me. . . ."²⁰ What is more important is the fact that the theme also belongs in a special category of personal *literary* quotations; for you will find the little mermaid in *Königliche Hoheit*, in the limpid and hope-filled atmosphere of that fairy tale of Mann's own telling. The allusion is as cheerful as the setting. You will recall that the Princess Dietlinde had, so to speak, abdicated by marrying a nobleman from a mediatized house who had turned to trade and was doing very well at it. She openly confesses to her brother, Klaus Heinrich, heir to the throne, that she is utterly contented with her new way of life and is richly satisfied with her escape from the responsibilities of royalty.

And sometimes, when Philipp is away, as he is now, and I sit here among my flowers and Philipp's pictures with all their sunlight . . . then I seem to myself like the little mermaid in the fairy tale . . . if you recall it

Ephialti and Hyphialti, or Incubi and Succubi." (Et quando i Sortilegi, et le Streghe confessano la congiuntione carnale co'l demonio, molti Medici dicono che questi sono Ephialti, et Hyphialti, ò Incubi, e Succubi . . .)

¹⁸ *DPE.*, pp. 500 f.

¹⁹ Arthur Eloesser, *Thomas Mann* (Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 1925), p. 26. He finds a literary reflection of Anderson as early as 1899, in "Der Kleiderschrank." *Ibid.*, p. 66.

²⁰ Thomas Mann, "Lebensabriss," *Die Neue Rundschau*, xli, I, 740. "Ich habe der Bildungserlebnisse meiner Kindheit und Ersten Jugend nicht gedacht, nicht des unauslöschlichen Eindrucks, den Andersens Märchen mir machten . . ."

... who became the wife of a mortal and took on legs instead of a fishes tail . . . I don't know whether you understand me.²¹

What could be more serene? Alas for the little mermaid who has suffered such a change in the mind of Adrian Leverkühn. But, as Mann tells us, an atmosphere of coldness, of inhumanity, of horror enveloped *Dr. Faustus* almost from the instant of its conception, and our little mermaid suffers no worse a fate than one might have anticipated. In effect, the transference of the theme from the sunny, so to speak E flat major key of *Königliche Hoheit* to the fantastic atonality of *Dr. Faustus*, is only another instance of "taking it back," as Adrian "takes back" Beethoven's Ninth Symphony by writing "Doktor Fausti Weheklage," by substituting the demonic and the terrible for the good, the noble, the humane. Most of the "quotations" in *Dr. Faustus* are given some sort of pejorative twist. The theme of the little mermaid is a quotation by Mann of himself—with a sick grimace.

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HERDER AND GERSTENBERG OR AKENSIDE

"Wenn bey einem Manne mir jenes ungeheure Bild einfällt: 'hoch auf einem Felsengipfel sitzend! zu seinen Füßen, Sturm, Ungewitter, und Brausen des Meers; aber sein Haupt in den Strahlen des Himmels!' so ist es bey Shakespeare."

I had often wondered what was the original of the picture with which Herder opened his essay on Shakespeare, and was well satisfied for a time when I discovered an identification in Edna Purdie's excellent edition of *Von deutscher Art und Kunst*.¹ The passage is quoted as follows:

²¹ Thomas Mann, *Die Erzählenden Schriften* (Berlin: S. Fischer Verlag, 1928) II, 135. "Und manchmal, wenn Philipp unterwegs ist, so wie jetzt, und ich hier sitze, unter meinen Blumen und Philipps Bildern mit all ihrer Sonne . . . dann komme ich mir vor wie die kleine Meernixe in dem Märchen . . . wenn du dich erinnerst . . . die eines Menschen Frau wurde und Beine erhielt statt ihres Fischeschwanzes . . . Ich weiss nicht, ob du mich verstehst."

¹ *Op. cit.*, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1924; p. 179.

Der Fels, auf dem sein Riesengesang sich ergoß
 Daß Nordsturm tonvoll ihn umfloss,
 Bebt unter ihm, die Tief' erklang
 Und Endils Wölfe heulten in seinen Gesang . . .
 Der mit der Wipfel heil'gem Glanz
 Herab aus Wolken die er stützt
 Die goldnen Schilde überblitz.

The picture seems to be taken, the editor says, though not word for word, from Gerstenberg's "*Der Skalde*, 1ster. Gesang."

With this the matter might have rested had I not chanced to find shortly after a passage which resembles Herder's picture more closely. It reads:

When lightning fires
 The arch of heaven and thunders rock the ground,
 When furious whirlwinds rend the howling air
 And ocean, groaning from its lowered bed
 Heaves his tempestuous billows to the sky;
 Amid the mighty uproar, while below
 The nations tremble, Shakespeare looks abroad
 From some high cliff superior and enjoys
 The elemental war.

The strophe is in Akenside's *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, book III, verses 550-559. The resemblance of the three passages challenges to a weighing of the probabilities. In favor of the Gerstenberg passage is the fact that Herder's essay was originally conceived as a letter to Gerstenberg. The quotation would then be a polite bow to the addressee. It might be asked then why "jenes ungeheure Bild," instead of "Ihr ungeheures Bild," and why was the passage quoted so loosely that Gerstenberg himself would perhaps not recognize it at a glance. This is a good objection, but not decisive.

Without qualification in favor of Gerstenberg is the fact that Herder had cited Gerstenberg's lines several months before in his review of Denis's translation of Ossian. At that time he quoted him as follows:

Der Fels, wo er die Hymn' ergoß,
 Daß Nordsturm tonvoll ihn umfloß,
 Bebt unter ihm, die Tiefe klang,
 Und Geister seufzten in seinen Gesang.²

² Herder, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Suphan, Berlin, 1877 ff., iv 325.

If we substitute "Endils Wölfe" for "Geister" we have a close approximation to the passage as it appeared in Gerstenberg's *Vermischte Schriften*, 1815.

* * * * *

If the evidence in favor of the English source is less strong, it can at least be shown that Herder was familiar with Akenside's lines. Both Mendelssohn and Dusch had twice called attention to them so conspicuously that they could scarcely have failed to make some impression on him.

The Pleasures of the Imagination appeared in England in 1744, but the poem made no stir in Germany before the publication of the third edition in 1754. In 1757 Mendelssohn presented a thirty-three page review of the poem in the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und freyen Künste*.³ He outlined the entire argument of the poem and included prose translations of the parts which pleased him best, one of which was that relating to Shakespeare. Then in 1762 in the ninety second letter of the *Briefe die neueste Literatur betreffend* he took issue with Sulzer regarding the nature of a genius. A genius, he said, should not lose himself in enthusiasm over his theme but should be "Meister über seine Begeisterung." "Die Vernunft muß in dem Temperamente seiner Fähigkeiten, oben an sitzen, und im Sturme der Leidenschaften selbst den Steuer nicht verlieren. Akenside hat diese Eigenschaft eines großen Genies vortreflich ausgedruckt." Then follows in the original English the passage concerning Shakespeare.⁴

In the next year, 1763, Dusch made some remarks on the poem in the second volume of his *Vermischte Beyträge zur Philosophie und den schönen Wissenschaften*:

Das Unregelmäßige und Ungeheure war ein Fehler Shakespeares. Seine Stücke sind unförmliche Glieder aber Glieder eines Riesen; alsdann zeigt er oft das größte Feuer und den Enthusiasmus, welcher die Brust des Dichters aufschwellet. Man sieht immer seine Größe.

Wenn Wirbelwinde tobend das Gewölbe
Des Himmels, welches heult, mit Macht zerreißen;
Wenn in dem tiefsten Grund das Weltmeer ächzet,
Und stürmend seine Fluth gen Himmel hebet;
Sieht Shakespear in dem wilden Aufruhr

³ *Loc. cit.*, II 1 (1757) 91-134.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, Th. VI (1762) 220.

Da unterhalb die Nationen zittern,
 Von einer hohen Klipp erhaben um sich,
 Und macht sich aus dem Aufruhr eine Lust.⁵

In his *Briefe zur Bildung des Geschmacks*, II, Brief XIII, 1765, Dusch discussed Akenside's poem and incidentally quoted in German prose some passages from it, not,⁶ however, the above. Herder reviewed Dusch's work for the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* and noted: "Es werden von diesem göttlichen Gedicht, *das unter uns schon bekannt ist*, *blos einige Stellen gegeben*, und das mit mehr Kälte, als sie hätten gegeben werden sollen."⁷ (The italics are, of course, my own). Not long after that Herder wrote in the *Fragmente*: "Wie weit hat es Akenside gebracht, da er blos eine Seite der Menschlichen Seele, die *Vergnügen der Einbildungskraft*, besang."⁸

At this point an objection could be made: Herder seems to have read a description in some work, but implies in his opening words that it is he who is making the application to Shakespeare. A slightly unsatisfactory answer to this might be that memory plays strange tricks upon us. Herder may have been impressed with the passage when he first read it and calling it back to mind a few years later, may have believed that he first made the application.

After weighing the evidence *pro* and *contra* one might safely conclude that there are probabilities in favor of both passages, but that the weight of external evidence is in favor of Gerstenberg. When one turns to the internal evidence, however, the situation is reversed. Herder's picture of Shakespeare is not that of a bard outroaring the North Sea and outhowling "Endils Wölfe," but rather that of a demigod who "looks abroad from some high cliff superior and enjoys the elemental war." It is this contrast which Herder emphasizes and which makes the picture "ungeheuer." For that reason I incline to Akenside's lines as the "Vorbild," but at the same time I am willing to agree to any suggestion that Gerstenberg too may have echoed consciously or unconsciously the lines of Akenside.

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⁵ *Op. cit.*, Breslau, 1762-1763; pp. 10-11.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, Leipzig and Breslau, 1764-1765, II 221 ff.

⁷ Herder, *Werke*, IV 289.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I 476.

THE MOTIVE FOR BYRON'S "GEORGE RUSSELL OF A."

Although the prose fragment "Some Account of the Life and Writings of the Late George Russell of A." is among the least important of Byron's works, it is one of the most puzzling. Apparently the poet intended his piece as satire; at least his allusions to factions in government, to Scottish education, and to Russell's plagiarism seem satirical in themselves and suggest that Byron intended his projected biography and the samples of Russell's verse as a jibe at one of his contemporaries. The late Lord Ernle (Rowland E. Prothero), who published the fragment in his edition of Byron's *Letters and Journals*, suggested that it may have been intended to satirize John Scott, editor of the *London Magazine*, who, like the mythical Russell, had been a schoolfellow of Byron in the Grammar School at "A." (Aberdeen).¹ But this conjecture is hardly satisfactory; for Byron would scarcely have written so scornfully about Scott, who had died in the preceding February after a duel with J. H. Christie provoked by Scott's attack on *Blackwood's Magazine*. Indeed, shortly before Byron wrote "George Russell of A.," which is dated "Decr. 1st (or 2^d) 1821," Byron had subscribed £30 for the relief of Scott's widow and had spoken well of Scott in his *Second Letter to John Murray, Esq., on the Rev. W. L. Bowles's Strictures on the Life and Writings of Pope*.²

But though Byron evidently had no bone to pick with Scott, he may well have had reason to quarrel with *Blackwood's Magazine*—on his own account, if not on Scott's. And there is ample evidence to indicate that he had *Blackwood* in mind when he wrote "George Russell of A."; the parallels between it and the November issue of the magazine could hardly have been sheer accident.³ In the first

¹ Rowland E. Prothero, *The Works of Lord Byron: Letters and Journals*, London and New York, 1898-1901, v, 604.

² See Prothero, v, 265-6, 576.

³ At first glance it might seem as if Byron, then living in Pisa, could hardly have seen a copy of the November issue of *Blackwood* by December 1 or 2. Yet, assuming that his dating of the fragment is accurate, he almost certainly could have received a copy of the magazine by that date. Usually *Blackwood* appeared late in the month, but in the last months of 1821 it was running ahead of schedule, probably because the editors were preparing a double issue for December so that they could begin the next

place the cumbersome title of the fragment recalls "Some Account of the Life and Writings of Ensign and Adjutant Odoherty," which had appeared serially in *Blackwood* in 1818. Byron was certainly thinking of that series when he wrote "George Russell of A.," for in his introductory paragraph he mentioned Odoherty and observed that, unlike him, Russell was not a fictitious character. The poet may have been reminded of Odoherty by the song "On being asked who wrote 'The Groves of Blarney,'" which appeared in the November issue of *Blackwood* under Odoherty's signature.

But more important: the article immediately following the Odoherty song in *Blackwood* is a quiz review of the Reverend Richard Lyne's *Latin Primer*. It begins by denying that Englishmen are more accomplished classical scholars than Scots and cites the inaccuracies of the *Primer*, the standard text in English schools, to clinch its point.⁴ "You must often have perceived," the author wrote, "how haughtily our southern neighbours assert their superiority over us in every thing relating to classical literature, and particularly in the science of metre. I readily admit that the country of George Buchanan does not support the fame conferred

volume with the January issue. From the letters which William Maginn, *Blackwood's* Irish contributor wrote to the publisher, it is reasonable to conclude that the November issue was in the mails by the middle of the month. At all events Maginn, who normally submitted articles piecemeal and kept the printers waiting until the last minute for his final installment, wrote on November 8: "If I have time tomorrow I shall finish a journal for Mr. Fogarty [supposed author of the poem "Daniel O'Rourke"] out of a paper he lent me . . . if not let it go in as it is." If the magazine left Edinburgh by November 15, it could probably have been in Pisa by December 1. At least Byron wrote from Pisa to John Murray on the following May 17 in answer to a letter which Murray had written in London on May 2 or 3. (See Prothero, VI, 63.)

⁴ Although the article in *Blackwood* was signed "Augustinus" and dated from St. Andrews, it was the work of William Maginn, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin. When he sent his review to the publisher, he wrote: "If you wish to vaporize about the equality of Scotland with your Southern Neighbours in metrical lore, publish it, for though I say it that ought not to say it, it is as good as any of the kind you can get from the other side of the border." (This excerpt and the one included in Note 3, above, are quoted with permission from the unpublished letters of Maginn formerly preserved in the offices of William Blackwood & Sons, Ltd., in Edinburgh, but lately transferred to the National Library of Scotland.)

on it by that illustrious scholar; . . . but I nevertheless contend, that the charge against us is made too general and sweeping. . . ."⁵

Now Byron, in discussing his and "Russell's" education at "A," remarks on "that general superiority in the Latin tongue over our Neighbours, which, whether admitted or not, should never cease to be claimed by all true lovers of Truth as well as of their country."⁶ Elsewhere in the article he refers to England as "the Southern Country," and in the final paragraph he mentions the *Latin Psalms* of George Buchanan.⁷ It may or may not be significant that Byron signed his fragment with the name "Henry Ferguson" and that the article immediately following the review of Lyne's *Primer* in *Blackwood* begins with a poem by one Robert Ferguson. But certainly all these parallels are not pure chance.

Byron had ample reason to be interested in *Blackwood* in November and December of 1821. He was publishing poems rapidly during that year, and *Blackwood* was reviewing them regularly. Although the magazine had contained no article about him in Volumes VI-VIII (including the issues from October, 1819, to March, 1821), Volumes IX and X featured several: a review of *Marino Faliero* in April, 1821; another, of the *Second Letter to Murray on Bowles's Strictures on Pope*, in May; a third, of *John Bull's Letter to Lord Byron*, in July; a fourth, of Cantos III-V of *Don Juan*, in August; one of Hope's *Anastasius* (which was attributed to Byron) in September; an article "Chaucer and Don Juan" in October; and in November a note announcing that the editors had received a letter about *Anastasius* from "the Noble Lord."⁸ Twice in his letters of the year 1821 Byron referred to *Blackwood's* favorable review of *Marino Faliero*; and in one of those letters he seemed eager to know how his other works were being received.⁹ Moreover, in early November Byron was reading the proofs of his "Some Observations upon an Article in *Blackwood's*

⁵ *Blackwood's Magazine*, X (1821), 383.

⁶ Prothero, V, 606.

⁷ The reference to Buchanan in Maginn's article is by no means surprising. Buchanan was the patron saint of *Blackwood*, and his picture appeared (and still appears) on the title page of every issue. Byron, however, seems never to have mentioned him elsewhere.

⁸ See *Blackwood*, X (1821), 477.

⁹ See Prothero, V, 313, 325.

Magazine," which he had written in March, 1820, in reply to *Blackwood's* slashing review (in August, 1819) of the first two cantos of *Don Juan*. And although he returned the proofs to John Murray in a letter dated November 12, he was still undecided on November 24 whether he should print the article and the other prose pieces which accompanied it.¹⁰ Perhaps his reply to *Blackwood* seemed "dated" after the two years' delay in publication; perhaps he realized that it concerned Southey too much and *Blackwood* too little. And since most of *Blackwood's* articles about him had been considerably less flattering than the review of *Marino Faliero*, perhaps he felt that he had new scores to settle with the magazine. He may well have decided, since the "Observations" was already in proofs, that it would be easier to start afresh in "George Russell of A." than to attempt wholesale revision of his earlier article.

Unfortunately one important bit of evidence militates against my thesis: Byron's statement in a letter to Tom Moore dated August 8, 1822, that he had not seen a copy of *Blackwood* for three years, and that he had read its articles only when they were reprinted in Galignani's *Literary Gazette, or Sunday Messenger*.¹¹ If Byron is to be taken seriously, his statement obviously means that he had not seen a copy of the magazine since the review of Cantos I and II of *Don Juan*.¹² Yet it is more than possible that Byron's professed ignorance of *Blackwood* is not to be taken seriously,—that he adopted it only in order to display a genteel disdain for its attacks on him. On October 8, 1820, he asked Murray to send him "an occasional *Blackwood*";¹³ and in 1821 he not only expressed interest in *Blackwood's* review of *Marino Faliero* but also revealed that he was eager to learn how his other recent works were being received.¹⁴ Not until November 3, 1821, did he direct Murray

¹⁰ See Prothero, v, 472, 485.

¹¹ Prothero, vi, 100.

¹² His knowledge of *Blackwood's* review of *Marino Faliero* proves nothing, since that article was reprinted in Galignani's *Literary Gazette* for Sunday, May 20, 1821. (I am indebted for this information to Monsieur J. Bruno, Conservateur-adjoint of the Bibliothèque Nationale, which seems to have the only extant file of the *Literary Gazette* for 1821.)

¹³ Prothero, v, 92.

¹⁴ See above and note 9.

to stop sending him reviews. "I will read no more of evil or good in that line," he declared. "Walter Scott has not read a review of *himself* for *thirteen years*." ¹⁵ But Murray had evidently sent him a packet of reviews before the letter reached London, for on December 4 Byron acknowledged receipt of "the *E. Review*—and some pamphlets, etc." ¹⁶ All in all, the evidence, though tenuous, suggests that Byron's supposed contempt for reviews did not prevent him—for any length of time—from reading them. And his letters to Murray reveal no reluctance to know what *Blackwood*, as well as the others, had to say about him. Indeed George Finlay, the historian, who was with Byron in Greece just before his death, reported in June, 1824, that the poet read *Blackwood* whenever he could get a copy, and that he often quoted Odoherthy's verse. ¹⁷

All in all, I believe, Byron's professed ignorance of the issues of *Blackwood* in 1821 can be safely discounted. In fact, now that he was pondering the question of whether to publish "Some Observations upon an Article in *Blackwood's Magazine*," he might well have been more than usually interested in what the editors were writing about him. And if he was considering a substitute for "Some Observations," a loose sketch like "George Russell of A." would have served his purpose admirably: in it he could set up a straw Blackwoodian and hack him to shreds, parodying his verse, branding him a plagiarist, and taking side thrusts at any phase of Scottish life or character that came within the radius of his saber.

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A NOTE ON CHAUCER'S LOLLIOUS

In *The House of Fame*, Lollius, together with Homer, Dares, Guido de Columnis, and others, stands on a pillar of iron, "besy for to bere up Troye." In *Troilus and Criseyde*, Chaucer twice again mentions Lollius, first as "myn auctour," and later in the expression "as telleth Lollius"; ¹ and in the poem there are about

¹⁵ Prothero, v, 472.

¹⁶ Prothero, v, 488.

¹⁷ Richard Edgecombe, *Byron: The Last Phase*, London, 1909, p. 100.

¹ See *House of Fame*, 1464-1472; *Troilus*, i, 394; v, 1653; for the dates,

forty other references to its "source." By analyzing this testimony offered by the poet concerning the source-material of the *Troilus*, G. L. Kittredge made one of his most useful contributions to our understanding of Chaucer's artistry, giving detailed evidence to show that

Chaucer takes quite particular pains to convey the impression that his *Troilus*, from beginning to end, is a faithful translation from the Latin work of Lollius, without any material additions either from other sources or from his own pen. . . . Lollius, then, in Chaucer's fiction, is not Boccaccio or Benoit or Guido or Statius or Ovid or Boëthius: *he is simply Lollius*, an alleged Latin author on the Trojan War, to whom Chaucer chooses, for his artistic purposes, to credit practically everything that the *Troilus* contains—everything, that is, that Chaucer drew from Boccaccio and Benoit and Guido and Statius and Ovid and Boëthius, and likewise everything that he drew from the brain of Geoffrey Chaucer.²

While generally accepted, Kittredge's evidence and views on this point have sometimes been disregarded, but never, so far as I know, disproved.

Convinced that Chaucer "believed that a work by Lollius on the Trojan War had once existed, but . . . was lost,"³ Kittredge supported Latham's brilliant theory, that the error which made Lollius an authority on Troy, sprang from a misunderstanding of Horace, *Epistolae*, I, ii, 1-2:⁴

Troiani belli scriptorem, Maxime Lolli,
dum tu declamas Romae, Praeneste relegi.

Although the *Epistolae* did not circulate widely in the Middle Ages, these particular lines could have been known to the initial blun-

see, for example, F. N. Robinson (ed.), *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Boston, etc. [1933]), pp. xxv, 330, 449, 887-888, 922-923.

² See George Lyman Kittredge, "Chaucer's Lollius," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, xxviii (1917), 54-55 (the italics are his); for the detailed evidence and reasoning, see Kittredge's Appendix I (pp. 92-109), "On Chaucer's References to His Sources in the *Troilus*."

³ See Kittredge, p. 71; see also pp. 48-49: "His mention of Lollius in *The House of Fame* is not fiction—it is a mistake pure and simple. . . . Chaucer found the name somewhere; he did not manufacture it. . . . Furthermore, . . . the context in which Chaucer discovered the name Lollius conveyed to his mind the distinct impression that Lollius was the author of an important work on Troy."

⁴ See Kittredge, p. 76; R. G. Latham, "Chaucer," *The Athenaeum*, No. 2136 (1868, II, October 3), p. 433.

derer—whether Chaucer or another—because they are quoted by John of Salisbury in his *Policraticus* (1159).⁵

In accounting for the actual process of misinterpretation, Kittredge pointed out that if "the initial blunderer had a good mediaeval text of these two lines, what he read was not nicely punctuated and decked out with enlightening capitals."⁶ We must imagine, then, a text something like this:

Troiani belli scriptorem maxime lolli
dum tu declamas rome prenesti relegi.

Kittredge further pointed out that "*maxime*, as a mere superlative (not *Maxime* as a part of the name) must underlie all mediaeval ways of interpreting the passage, since the discovery that the *Maximus* was the surname of Horace's young friend is rather modern."⁷

Ten Brink suggested that the text which caused the error may have had *scriptorum* for *scriptorem*,⁸ and Kittredge pointed out that *scriptor* for *scriptorem* would do as well. The lines would then have said, "O Lollius, greatest of writers on the Trojan War, while you declaim [your book] at Rome, I have reread it at Praeneste."⁹ Some critics have objected to the Latham-ten Brink-Kittredge theory on the ground that no one has ever found a manuscript with an error that could account for the misconception that Lollius wrote about the Trojan War. The aim of the present note is to support the theory with evidence drawn from two medieval manuscripts.

One of these, a late twelfth century copy of the *Policraticus*, formerly at Battle Abbey and now in the Bodleian Library, gives the first line from Horace as

Troiani belli scriptorum maxime lolli,

⁵ See *Ioannis Saresberiensis Episcopi Carnotensis Policratici sive De Nugis Curialium et Vestigiis Philosophorum Libri VIII*, ed. C. C. J. Webb, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1909), II, 128. The presence of Horace's lines in *Policraticus*, VII, 9, was noted by W. E. A. Axon, *Notes and Queries*, Series 9, Vol. III (1899, 1), p. 224. For a fairly comprehensive bibliography on Chaucer and the *Policraticus*, see the first footnote of an article on the subject soon to appear in *MLN*.

⁶ See Kittredge, p. 77.

⁷ *Ib.*

⁸ See Bernhard ten Brink, *Chaucer: Studien zur Geschichte seiner Entwicklung* . . . (Münster, 1870), pp. 87-88.

⁹ See Kittredge, p. 77.

with exactly the misreading proposed long ago by ten Brink.¹⁰ The other is a French translation of the *Policraticus* completed in 1372 for Charles V by the Franciscan, Denis Foullechat.¹¹ When he came to the quotation we are concerned with, Foullechat mentioned Horace and then wrote:

Car il dit, que lolli fu principal escrivain de la bataille de troye.¹²

The prime difference between Chaucer's misunderstanding and Foullechat's mistranslation is that Foullechat took *lolli* as nominative, not as vocative; nevertheless he actually mistranslated the passage, and in such a way as to introduce an important ancient author deserving place on the iron pillar in the Palace of Fame. Just as in the Battle manuscript, Horace's line was corrupted precisely in the direction of Chaucer's mistake.

¹⁰ I quote from *MS. Lat. misc. c. 16* (p. 175); see F. Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, VI (Oxford, 1924), 189; N. R. Ker, ed., *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: a list of surviving books* ("Royal Historical Society, Guides and Handbooks," No. 3 [London, 1941]), p. 5; Webb, p. xi (this MS is Webb's B). I have made use of a negative microfilm through the gracious permission of Dr. Richard W. Hunt, The Keeper of Western MSS. Because the *u* of *scriptorum* appears slightly blurred in my microfilm, and because Professor Webb does not record this variant (he collated B only for certain doubtful passages), I requested Dr. Hunt to examine the manuscript. He kindly did so, writing as follows: "The manuscript like your film is blurred at the word *scriptorum*. The 'u' is written over erasure, and the letter that stood there originally was narrower than a 'u'." I might add that I think an *e* would have fitted the space.

¹¹ See Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, *MS. fr. 24287*: Jean de Salisbury, *Le Policratique*, version française par Denis Foullechat, franciscain. I am indebted to the officials of the Bibliothèque Nationale for allowing me to study this manuscript in microfilm. On fol. 2r appears the date of the translation; the date of the manuscript must be close to this. Regarding the manuscript, Foullechat, and Charles V, see Léopold Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1868-1881), I, 39-40; III, 138; L. Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1907), I, 85-88, 263-264; II, 85. Briefer mention is made by Geneva Drinkwater in J. W. Thompson, *The Medieval Library* (Chicago, 1939), pp. 417-427; and Pearl Kibre, "The Intellectual Interests Reflected in Libraries of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, VII (1946), 269-270.

¹² See fol. 189v. Foullechat's source manuscript may have read, "Troiani belli scriptor est maxime lolli," *scriptorē* having become *scriptor ē* in the course of scribal transmission.

In order to understand how an error in this one line could lead Foullechat, or Chaucer, or any other educated medieval reader to imagine the existence of an ancient Latin book on Troy replete with character, action, and theme, one must examine the context. I therefore give the relevant section of the *Policraticus* from page 175 of the Battle manuscript.

Consonat ei si lyricum conticente lira dignaris audire flaccus, aut si maus oratius, qui plus honestatis et utilitatis se apud meonidem inuenisse gratulatur, quod plurium stoicorum sit preceptis expressum. Ait enim, Troiani belli scriptorum maxime lolli, dum tu declamas rome preneste relegi, qui quid sit pulcrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non, pulcrius et melius crisippo et cantore dicit. Fabula qua propter paridis narratur amorem grecia barbarie lento collisa duello, stultorum regum et populorum continet estus. Antenor belli censet prescidere causas. Quid paris ut regnet saluus uiuatque beatus, cogi posse negat. Seditione, dolis, scelere, atque libidine et ira, iliacos intra muros peccatur et extra. Quicquid delirant reges plectuntur achiui.

Here John of Salisbury quotes lines 1-4, 6-10, 11 (first half), 15, 16, and 14, from *Epistolae*, I, ii. The vivid description of the *Iliad*, filling two-thirds of this passage, when transferred to the supposititious lost writing of Lollius on the Trojan War, gives it a reality that can admit no doubt. Not merely the existence, but even the character of this outstanding work, is here amply attested, and by no less an authority than Horace.

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MILTON'S SONS OF GOD

One of the inconsistencies with which commentators have charged Milton in his poetical treatment of the fall and salvation of man is that in *Paradise Lost* he shows plainly in Adam's vision interpreted by Michael that the Sons of God seduced by Daughters of Men were posterity of Seth, but in *Paradise Regained* he, as Masson put it, "makes them fallen angels." Masson's is the usual gloss for Satan's speech to Belial:

Before the flood thou with thy lusty crew
False titled sons of God, roaming the earth
Cast wanton eyes on the daughters of men,
And coupled with them, and begot a race.
(PR II, 178-81)

Newton says it was too bad of Milton thus to misconstrue the text of Genesis in *Paradise Regained*, but that he had shown in *Paradise Lost* that he understood it rightly. Todd quotes Newton; Masson just notes that Milton had one view in *Paradise Lost*, another in *Paradise Regained*; and Professor Merritt Y. Hughes says substantially the same thing.¹ In the most recent comment Professor Don Cameron Allen sums up: "... the commentators . . . have explained these passages by observing that the ancients identified the Sons of God either with the descendants of Seth or with angels." He himself takes no exception to this, but he does "wish to expand this commentary, to make it more precise, to indicate the artistic method of Milton and the mood of his age." He then traces the exegetical controversy on the Sons of God to Milton's time and cites no one after Clement of Alexandria as holding the Sons of God to be angels. Mr. Allen says that "we can now understand why the unorthodox interpretation was placed in the mouth of Satan and the accepted interpretation made the basic motif of Adam's vision."²

But is it really clear that Milton gives contradictory "interpretations"? Does he ever interpret Genesis vi. 2, to quote Mr. Hughes, "as if it referred to the fallen angels"?

Of the construction for *Paradise Lost* certainly no doubt is possible. Not only is the passage in Book xi plainly what it has always been construed to be, but in Book v, 446-49 when naked Eve serves Raphael, Milton goes out of his way to say that

. . . if ever, then
Then had the Sons of God excuse to have bin
Enamour'd at that sight; but in those hearts
Love unlibidinous reign'd. . . .

Plainly he does not subscribe to the ancient interpretation that good angels were corrupted by the beauty of women.

This does not mean, though, that his ground is that of such theologians as Augustine, Aquinas, Luther, and Calvin, as cited by Mr. Allen, that angels could not mate with human beings. It is rather that the affection of elect angels to man was too pure to

¹ See the notes in the respective editions of *Paradise Regained*. All of these editors remark the discrepancy also in their notes to *Paradise Lost* xi, 574 ff.

² "Milton and the Sons of God," *MLN* lxi (1946) 73-79.

become fleshly. That fallen angels could and would embrace women Milton does not deny in *Paradise Lost*, and Satan's leering surveillance of Adam's and Eve's embraces and his aching words on desire show that Milton's devil was libidinous, whether or not he could procreate with women.

Then, of course, in *Paradise Regained* Satan says flatly—and we have no reason in the logic of the story to doubt him—that Belial and his crew had both the will and the ability; they “cast wanton eyes on the daughters of men, And coupl'd with them, and begot a race.”

But this is no contradiction of Milton's earlier orthodox “interpretation” of Genesis. On the contrary, it clearly says that the work of angels with women, though it took place, is wrongly connected with the Genesis passage. The angels who “begot a race” were not, as the *Book of Enoch* and the the early Fathers have it, good angels who lost station in consequence, but evil angels already fallen and not referred to in the Genesis passage at all. To call them Sons of God is to give them false title. And for this Milton had such respected authority as Hieronymus Zanchius, a Protestant divine of whom he takes notice in the *Christian Doctrine* and the *Second Defense*. Zanchius says in his *De Operibus Dei* that the term Sons of God is never used in Scripture of angels except the good ones³ as in *Job*.

If, like Mr. Allen and his predecessors, we interpret the lines from *Paradise Regained* as a contradiction of *Paradise Lost*, we must think that Satan is accusing Genesis of false titling, of wrongly referring to Belial, fallen before Adam, as a Son of God during his activities between Eden and the Flood. This seems unlikely, because Satan would, presumably, know Genesis' meaning and have no reason to misstate it here. If he is saying that Genesis false titles, Milton is implicated in that accusation. But surely Milton would not allow that Genesis could speak falsely. When Milton has Satan say that Belial is “false titled” a Son of God, he must mean that Belial is not a Son of God and should not be confused with the Sons of God, though like the Sons of God who were Seth's, he couples with the daughters of men.

Who, then, if not Moses, false titles? Evidently Belial himself and his associates, to acquire credit for their lusts and their progeny

³ I, i, 60 in vol III of the *Operum Theologicorum*, Geneva, 1613.

or to lead men to faulty exegesis. Or perhaps the false titlers are the exegetes who went so far astray as to think Genesis described Belial's activities. Either way, it is no recession from Milton's stand that the Sons of God are Seth's.

In the logic of Milton's story Satan's words cannot be taken as the "unorthodox interpretation" Mr. Allen calls them, nor indeed as an interpretation of Genesis at all. They are rather an intimation of how, in Satan's view (and Milton's) the unorthodox interpretation arose. With his deliberate qualification "false titled" Milton did his best to clear himself of just the accusation commentators have made against him and to prevent just the confusion the commentators have fallen into.

In allowing as he does that angels, even the fallen, have had progeny by women, Milton is admittedly going counter to most Christian angelologists of his time and of previous times. But he did this about other items of angelology too—Raphael's concocting and digesting for instance—and he had a respected precedent, which Mr. Allen notes, in Augustine's hesitation about whether sylvan spirits and fauns were able to breed with men, and another nearer one, which Mr. C. S. Lewis notes, in Henry More's similar doubt. "Why may not an airy spirit transforming himself into the shape of a Man, supply his place effectually . . . ?" The airy spirit is, according to witches, able to give much pleasure and may he not well be able "so to loosen the body into a transmission of such principles and particles as will prove in their conflux in the wombe vital and prolific? Which may be the easilier admitted, if we consider that the seed of the Male gives neither Matter nor Form to the Foetus itself; but like the Flint and Steel only sets the Tinder on fire, as Dr. Harvey expresses it . . ."⁴

Both More and St. Augustine are talking about pagan gods or godlets. And so is Milton, for Satan's remarks to Belial continue:

Have we not seen, or by relation heard,
In Courts and Royal Chambers how thou lurk'st
In Wood or Grove by mossie Fountain side,
In Valley or Green Meadow to way-lay
Some beauty rare, *Calisto, Clymene,*
Daphne, or Semele, Antiopa
Or *Aymone, Syrinæ*, many more

⁴ See More's *An Explanation of the Grand Mystery of Godliness* (London, 1660) III, xviii, 94.

Too long, then lay'st thy scapes on names ador'd
Apollo, Neptune, Jupiter, or Pan
 Satyr, or Fawn, or Silvan?

Evidently 'Sons of God' is merely another name under which Belial and his crew have cloaked their amorous activities.

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THE FATHER TO THE SON

In Scripture and in devotional literature the making of man is the final and most important act of creation, in Milton's words, "the master work, the end Of all yet done." In the Vulgate the command of God is, "*Faciamus hominem ad nostram imaginem, et ad similitudinem nostram.*" In *The Common Expositor* (pp. 67-68), Arnold Williams says that the commentators, with a host of preachers and devotional writers, take the plural form to indicate the Trinity. This statement does not account for the precise form that Milton uses: "the Omnipotent Eternal Father . . . thus to his Son audibly spake." (*Paradise Lost*, VII, 516-518). It may be that this form depends in part upon God's previous command to His Son, accompanied by His Spirit, to go forth and create the world. But there is another explanation, which suggests Milton's indebtedness here, and perhaps elsewhere, to a tradition of Biblical commentary more ancient than that so competently treated by Mr. Williams.

John Salkeld's *A Treatise of Paradise* (1617) points the way. After quoting, without approval, Rupertus's account of the part played by each person of the Trinity in creating man, Salkeld proceeds:

Ambrose in his seventh chapter of the sixte booke of the *Hexameron*, answereth, that God spake not to himselfe, because hee speaketh not in the singular, . . . neither to the Angels, as who are but his seruants; therefore . . . these words without all question are spoken to his Soone, as who is the true and liuely similitude . . . of God the Father. (p. 92)

This summary is correct. In Ambrose's *Hexameron* we read:

Faciamus, inquit, *hominem ad nostram imaginem, et ad similitudinem nostram*. Quis hic dicit? Nonne Deus, qui te fecit? Quid est Deus? Caro,

an spiritus? Non caro utique, sed spiritus, cuius similis caro esse non potest: quia ipse incorporeus et invisibilis est, caro autem comprehenditur et videtur. (Patr. Lat., 14, cols. 272-273)

After rebuking the Jews and the Arians for excluding Christ and admitting the angels, Ambrose goes on:

Sed esto: ut adminiculo servulorum ad operandum Deus vobis indiguisset videatur. Si operati communis est cum angelis Deo, numquid Deo et angelis imago communis est? . . . Sed quid sit imago Dei audi dicentem: *Qui eripuit nos, inquit, de potestate tenebrarum, et transtulit in regnum Filii claritatis suae, in quo habemus redemptionem, remissionem peccatorum, qui est imago Dei invisibilis* . . .

Insisting upon the Son's power, wisdom, and justice, Ambrose declares that the Father and the Son are one:

Imago Dei virtus est, non infirmitas: imago Dei sapientia est, imago Dei iustitia est: sed sapientia divina est, et sempiterna iustitia. Imago Dei est solus ille, qui dixit: *Ego et Pater, unum sumus*. . . (Ibid., 14, 273)

The ideas expressed by Ambrose occur in Basil and Origen, the two Greek Fathers by whom Ambrose was particularly influenced, and also in Gregory of Nazianzus. These Fathers declare that the Father speaks to the Son and that the creation of man is their joint work. Only the Son is the image of the Father. There are two persons, the one who speaks and the other to whom the speech is directed.

Duas adverte personas: unam, quae loquitur: alteram, ad quam dirigitur oratio.¹

On the other hand, the Latin Fathers, except Ambrose, emphasize the Trinity. Augustine, for example, writes:

in aliis operibus dicitur, *Dixit Deus, Fiat*; hic autem, *Dixit Deus, Faciamus hominem ad imaginem* . . . ad insinuandam scilicet, ut ita dicam, pluralitatem personarum propter Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum sanctum. . . . (Patr. Lat. 34, 291)

Hilary perhaps comes closest to Ambrose (Patr. Lat. 10, 134). But the Venerable Bede, Bruno, and Rupertus explain that the Trinity created man, saying, "una ostenditur trium personarum operatio . . . unitas sanctae Trinitatis aperte commendatur . . . Pater conderet, Filius redimeret, Spiritus sanctus . . . perficeret . . ."²

¹ For Basil, Origen, and Gregory see Patr. Gr. 30, 966-67; 12, 156-57; 44, 259.

² For Bede, Bruno, and Rupertus see Patr. Lat. 91, 28-29; 164, 156-57; 167, 247.

Bruno's clear statement seems to be representative of the Latin Fathers:

Tota autem Trinitas, id est Deus, et Verbum ejus, et Spiritus unus Deus, et iste quidem dicit: "Faciamus hominem"; . . .

It should be remembered that there is some difference between Western and Eastern orthodoxy. The Western emphasizes divine unity, the Eastern subordination. Greek theology found divine unity in the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit being subordinate. Roman theology found unity in the divine nature or substance, without subordination.³ Milton's idea of the Trinity seems to approach those comparatively early stages in the evolution of the dogma when the Son, partly defined as the Logos of Greek philosophy, was regarded as inferior to the Father, though sharing His essence. Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus are said to have formulated the distinctions within the divine nature. This note suggesting Milton's indebtedness to the Greek commentators (and perhaps Ambrose), who seem to have emphasized the Father and the Son, rather than to those Latin Fathers who emphasized the Trinity, may establish some basis for the anti-Trinitarianism of *De Doctrina Christiana* and *Paradise Lost*. The casual reader of *Paradise Lost* may, of course, think that the Holy Spirit was present in the creation of man. But this Spirit was merely God's power. The Third Person of the Trinity played no part.⁴ On the other hand, the Son was the external efficiency of God, the One by whom all things were made. It seems wrong, therefore, to imply, as Mr. Williams apparently does, that Milton agreed with the commentaries which universally, with sermons and devotional literature, declared that man was created by the Trinity.⁵

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³ *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. Hastings, XII, 459.

⁴ Maurice Kelley, *The Great Argument*, pp. 122 ff.

⁵ To forestall misconstruction, I should add that Ambrose was orthodox in the Western sense in his conception and exposition of the Holy Spirit. See his *De Spiritu Sancto* (Patr. Lat., 16, 751-780). Here he says that in the divine power there is complete unity: "unus Deus, unus Dominus, et unus Spiritus." He also says, "Unus est enim Deus Pater qui dicit, et unus Dominus Jesus qui facit." Again he says: "Quis vero dubitare potest quia vivificet omnia Spiritus sanctus, quando et ipse sicut Pater et Filius, creator est omnium. . . ." Can this be reconciled with his account of the creation of man? As Ambrose says, "Hoc de mysterio."

D'AVENANT'S *THE MAN'S THE MASTER* AND THE SPANISH SOURCE

That D'Avenant's *The Man's the Master* is a fairly close adaptation of Scarron's *Jodelet, ou le maître valet* is well known,¹ as is the fact that Scarron's play is, in turn, an adaptation of *Donde hay agravios no hay celos*, by Rojas Zorrilla. But certain points of similarity between the English play and the Spanish have not hitherto been noted.

When Lucilla comes to plead Don Ferdinand's protection, she tells him of her father, who has related to her what a brave and obliging person Ferdinand is. The man replies, "I owe him much for that character, and shall be ready to pay the debt to you."² This passage seems a verbal echoing of the Spanish play, where, on Ana's mention of her father's name, Don Fernando says:

El que nombrais fué mi mayor amigo,
Y obligaciones grandes os confieso.³

In Scarron, Don Fernand makes at this point an entirely different remark.⁴

Don Lewis' explanation to "Isabella" of how he has forgotten Lucilla is, in one part, nearer the Spanish than the French.

And, since I saw her at Burgos, I never did
retain her in my thought?⁵

¹ Alfred Harbage (*Sir William Davenant*, pp. 255-6) has pointed out that *The Man's the Master* is not a "composite adaptation" of *Jodelet, ou le maître valet* and *L'héritier ridicule*, as Langbaine supposed, but is in fact a "redaction" of *Le maître valet*. Harbage supposes that D'Avenant may have used "a few suggestions" from *L'héritier ridicule* and *Jodelet duelliste*. The opening scene of the English play does resemble that of *L'héritier ridicule*, but there is absolutely no evidence that D'Avenant used *Jodelet duelliste*. If one were to name all influences in D'Avenant's play, probably he should include Tuke's *The Adventures of Five Hours*, for the shifting of Don Ferdinand from side to side in the closing scene.

² *The Dramatic Works of William Davenant* (London, 1874), Vol. 5, p. 27.

³ *Comedias escogidas de Don Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla*, ed. Romanos. (Madrid, 1926) Act I, p. 152.

⁴ II, iii.

⁵ III, p. 56.

Je n'en ai depuis ni demande nouvelle,
D'en savoir ce n'est pas aujourd' hui mon souci.⁶

Pues solo me acuerdo della
Porque me la has acordado.⁷

When Don John discovers his sister, he says, ". . . My eyes cannot mistake, she is my sister."⁸ The eyes are in the Spanish ("O es que mis ojos no han visto. . . . O esta es mi hermana doña Ana . . .")⁹ but not in the French.¹⁰

At Don John's offer to fight Don Lewis, the latter refers to the supposed difference in their rank,¹¹ a reference made also at this point in the Spanish¹² but not in the French.¹³

D'Avenant's most striking approach to the Spanish comes in Act IV, when Isabella gives Lucilla instructions for their later meeting.

Go hide your self!
Pass through the gall'ry up the tarras-stairs into
my closet, where I will meet you straight.¹⁴

The stairway and room are both in the Spanish but not in the French.

DOÑA INES.

Eso, doña Ana, ha de ser;
Por esa falsa escalera
Se va á un cuarto principal;
Espérame en él.¹⁵

ISABELLE.

. cachez-vous, je vous prie,
Vous n'avez qu'à passer dans cette galerie,
Pour gagner le jardin où je vais vous trouver. . . .¹⁶

At the scene of the "duel" between Jodelet and Don Lewis, the latter remarks, "You mutter, Sir! you may express your anger with your sword."¹⁷ So also Lope says to Sancho, "Pase al acero la pasión del labio."¹⁸ The French play has no comparable language.

Finally, Don Ferdinand's steward is called Sancho, the name of Don Juan's servant in *Donde hay agravios*. Harbage supposes that

⁶ III, ix.

⁷ II, p. 160.

⁸ III, p. 57.

⁹ II, p. 160.

¹⁰ III, x.

¹¹ III, p. 58.

¹² II, p. 160.

¹³ III, x.

¹⁴ IV, p. 73.

¹⁵ III, p. 162.

¹⁶ IV, i.

¹⁷ V, p. 91.

¹⁸ III, p. 166.

D'Avenant got this name from *Jodelet duelliste*.¹⁹ But since that play bears no resemblance to *The Man's the Master* in either plot, incident, or language, and since the Don Sanche of *Jodelet duelliste* is in no sense a servant (he is the uncle of an offended girl), Harbage's supposition would appear to be entirely gratuitous.

The evidence points to a borrowing both interesting and curious.

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TIMOTHY BRIGHT AND SHAKESPEARE'S SEEDS OF NATURE

Macbeth's adjuration to the witches (IV, i, 58-61),

. . . though the treasure
Of nature's germens tumble all together,
Even till destruction sicken; answer me
To what I ask you,

as well as Lear's roar upon the heath (III, ii, 9-10), and Florizel's cry (*W. T.*, IV, iv, 488-9), receive their best treatment in W. C. Curry's "Tumbling Nature's Germens."¹ Although Curry traces the conception from the Stoics and Neo-Platonists to Shakespeare's time, he omits reference to an author whose work some scholars believe Shakespeare probably knew, Dr. Timothy Bright's *A Treatise of Melancholie* (1586).² By remembering the following passage from Bright, Shakespeare need not have been acquainted with the impressive lineage for the idea which Curry examines:

This earth he / God / had endued with a fecunditie of infinite seeds of all things: which he commaunded it, as a mother, to bring forth, and as it is most agreeable to their nature, to entertaine with nourishment, that which it had borne, & brought forth: whereby when he had all the furniture of this inferiour world, of these creatures, some he fixed there still, and

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 256.

¹ *Shakespeare's Philosophical Patterns* (Louisiana State University Press, 1937), pp. 29-48.

² Cf. Mary Isabelle O'Sullivan, "Hamlet and Dr. Timothy Bright," *PMLA*, xli (1926), 667-79, and Hardin Craig's statements, "In *Hamlet* and in the sonnets there are a number of fairly close verbal echoes," and "the case for Shakespeare's having known Bright is good." Introduction, pp. xvi-xvii, *A Treatise of Melancholie*, Facsimile Text Society (N. Y., 1940).

maintaineth the seedes, till the end of all things, and that determinate time, which he hath ordained, for the emptying of those seedes of creatures, which he first indued the earth withall. Other some, that is to say, the animals, he drew wholly from the earth at the beginning, and planted seede in them onely, and food from other creatures: as beasts, and man in respect of his body. . . .³

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GULLIVER AND THE *FREE-THINKER*

In Ambrose Philips' essay journal, the *Free-Thinker* (1718-1721), one paper, No. 144, contains an interesting parallel with a well known scene from Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*.¹

Free-Thinker No. 144 records the evening conversation of six gentlemen, who "give the *Free-Thinker* a Holiday, by throwing one Hour's Conversation into some Method." Fidelio proposes that every other person present shall tell "a short Story." His proposal is agreed to, and after Bianco and Irenarchus have entertained the company, a third anecdote is related by Fidelio:

"The Story, which occurs to me, is in high Life: Nevertheless, it shall not rise in Dignity above either of the two foregoing Pieces. . . . A Correspondent of mine in the Northern Parts of Europe, in one of his Letters, entertained me with an Account of some Rope-Dancers, that came (last Winter) to the City, where the Court then resided. These Vagabonds had the Honour to shew their Feats of Activity before the Sovereign of the Country: And, his Majesty being highly delighted with their Performances; the Nobles likewise, in complaisance to their Master, attended these Exercises: But, their Hearts were sorrowful, when they perceived their Prince took a particular liking to these Foreign Agilities. And why? Truly, because they feared his Majesty would oblige them, at the hazard of their Limbs, to learn to dance upon the Ropes, for his Diversion."

"You have justly applauded this short Article of News with a genuine, unmixed Laughter, says *Eutrapelus*. I can hardly persuade myself to interrupt with any thing serious upon it. However, to conform to Rules; What endless Fears and Jealousies must alarm the Subjects of a despotick Prince, who is no great Philosopher! They die beneath his Frowns; and they live in Terror under his Smiles: There is no certain Method of softening the

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

¹ This issue may be examined in any one of the four reprint editions, each in 3 vols., of Nos. 1-159 of the *Free-Thinker*: 1722-23, 1733, 1739, and 1742. The original half-sheets number 350 issues.

one, nor of fixing the other; since they are both influenced by the Capriciousness of a Will, that acts without Controll. The *Grandees*, who are more immediately under his Eye, are in more conspicuous Danger than the inferiour People, who escape his Notice. All are Slaves alike; and the Nobleman is but the Fore-Horse in the Team."

The apt political moral that Eutrapelus draws conforms strikingly to Swift's allegory at the beginning of the third chapter of Gulliver's "Voyage to Lilliput." Moreover, in both *Free-Thinker* No. 144 and the description of the Lilliputian court, the device of rope-dancing becomes a means for political satire. Swift's Gulliver, it will be recalled, relates his anecdote to illustrate the diversions of imperial Lilliput. For the favor of the Lilliputian emperor, candidates for court employment compete in rope-dancing; whoever jumps the highest without falling gains the vacant office. Gulliver emphasizes the vicissitudes of these dangerous games by citing examples of several courtiers who have engaged in rope-dancing. Sir Charles Firth has already analyzed definitively the political allegory of this passage, but without suggesting a possible source for the rope-dancing as a device employed for allegorical purposes.² Beyond this striking device in the two passages, no internal evidence common to both confirms the supposition that Swift read *Free-Thinker* No. 144, found it suited to his satirical intention, and used the suggestion in his great work. Circumstantial evidence, however, tends to strengthen such a supposition.

This evidence may be summed up briefly. It rests on three factors: the relationship between Swift and Philips; the dates of the publication of *Free-Thinker* No. 144 and of the composition of "A Voyage to Lilliput"; and the probability that Swift would have seen either the half-sheets or the first reprint edition of the *Free-Thinker* Nos. 1-159 (1722-23). Cordial acquaintances in 1709, the two men became gradually estranged, until by 1724, when Philips went to Dublin as Archbishop Boulter's secretary, he was an enemy not to be tolerated in Swift's literary circle.³ Despite this feud, the appearance of such a well supported Whig organ as

² Sir Charles Firth, "The Political Significance of *Gulliver's Travels*," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, IX (1919), 8-9.

³ Mary G. Segar ed., *The Poems of Ambrose Philips* (Oxford, 1937), pp. xxi-xxxiii *passim*, xliv-xlvii.

Philips' *Free-Thinker* would hardly have gone unnoticed, even in Dublin, by the Tory dean. *Free-Thinker* No. 144 appeared on 7 August 1719, a Friday. In this year or in 1720, Swift began writing the first voyage of Gulliver, in which he embodied the rope-dancing anecdote.⁴ If Swift did not read the *Free-Thinker* in its original half-sheet edition, he could have read the first 159 issues of the journal in its first reprint edition (1722-23). Before his trip to England in March 1726 Swift may have seen a copy of the first reprint edition circulating in Dublin and may have inserted in Gulliver's first voyage "this short Article of News" related by Fidelio in the *Free-Thinker*.⁵ Or later in England Swift may have seen and used No. 144 in the first reprint edition or even in the original half-sheets of the journal.

In any case, the mere resemblance of the two passages gives occasion for ironical reflection. Would Swift, too, have sensed some irony as he perused this issue of the prominent, rabidly Whig *Free-Thinker*? It were poetic justice, indeed, had this thrower of so many journalistic barbs turned the weapons of his political foes against themselves.

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⁴ Firth, p. 7, states that "... Swift, in 1719 or 1720, took up his unfinished story again, and converted it into a political allegory. . . ." Arthur E. Case, in *Four Essays on Gulliver's Travels* (Princeton, 1945), p. 107, states that Swift "begins to show renewed interest in his English public in the fall of 1720: quite possibly we may date this conception of Gulliver early in that fall. . . ."

⁵ The *Free-Thinker* is not listed among Swift's books: see Harold Williams, *Dean Swift's Library* (Cambridge, 1932). As Mr. Williams points out, "Books which have been ransacked for close parallelisms are not in the library; and it seems unlikely that in Dublin they would otherwise have come readily to hand" (p. 80). The ephemeral nature of a half-sheet essay journal is too obvious, however, to preclude the possibility that Swift read some issues of the *Free-Thinker* that were not preserved in his library; and in this instance at least, Mr. Williams' stricture would not hold.

SATIRE IN FIELDING'S *AN INTERLUDE BETWEEN
JUPITER, JUNO, APOLLO, AND MERCURY*

Fielding's *Miscellanies*, published in 1743, included a brief dramatic sketch entitled *An Interlude Between Jupiter, Juno, Apollo, and Mercury*. According to the title page, this "was originally intended as an introduction to a comedy called *Jupiter's Descent on Earth*."¹ This slight work was apparently written about the time when *Eurydice* appeared, and it may have remained incomplete because of the failure of that farce.

The treatment of the two pieces is parallel; the method in both is similar to that previously employed in *Tumble-Down Dick*, in which Fielding lowered the characters of a Greek myth to attain a burlesque effect. This device was in accordance with Fielding's theory of the burlesque, as expressed in his preface to *Joseph Andrews*:

burlesque . . . is ever the exhibition of what is monstrous and unnatural, and where our delight, if we examine it, arises from the surprising absurd(it)y, as in appropriating the manners of the highest to the lowest, or *à converso*.²

Fielding, acting on this principle, made Proserpine in *Eurydice* a termagant and Pluto meekly henpecked. In the *Interlude*, Juno is similarly portrayed. Jupiter defends himself in the first scene in a manner which recalls the Apshinken household of *The Grub Street Opera*. Wilbur Cross pointed out the application of that domestic group to the royal persons of King George and Queen Caroline,³ and there are certain parallels which at least suggest a like intent in this *Interlude*.

The rehearsal comedy, *The Election*, in *Pasquin*, inculcated a moral, in the words of its author, Trapwit, at the end of the second scene; "we are all under petticoat government."⁴ *Eurydice*, the action of which is laid in the underworld, has the following comment:

¹ Thomas Roscoe, Ed., *The Works of Henry Fielding*, London, 1859, p. 662.

² Page 276.

³ Wilbur Cross, *The History of Henry Fielding*, New Haven, 1918, Vol. I, pp. 106-107.

⁴ Thomas Roscoe, ed., *The Works of Henry Fielding*, pp. 1036-1037.

Crit. . . . Why have you made the devil hen-pecked?

Auth. Sir, you know where I have laid the scene; and how could hell be better represented than by supposing the people under petticoat government?⁵

It is not unlikely that both of these were oblique references to the great influence exerted in the Walpole government by Queen Caroline and Walpole's mistresses. Fielding's penetrating mind, more than familiar with the delicate Swiftian skill of ambiguity, certainly would not have overlooked the obvious comparison between the king and queen of the Greek deities and the King and Queen of England.

The first scene begins with Juno scolding Jupiter:

Juno. . . . I desire you will treat me with good manners at least. I should have had that if I had married a mortal, though he had spent my fortune and lain with chambermaids, as you suffer men to do with impunity—highly to your honour be it spoken!⁶

Jup. . . . you must not wonder, while you have such favorites, that the men slight them.

Juno. The men slight them! I'd have you know, sir, they slight the men; and I can, at this moment, hear not less than a thousand railing at mankind.

Jup. Ay, as I hear at this instant several grave black gentlemen railing at riches, and enjoying them, or at least coveting them, at the same time.

Juno. Very fine! Very civil! I understand your comparison.⁷

Later Mercury describes Jupiter:

His own honesty makes him the less suspicious of others; for, except in regard to women, he is as honest a fellow as any deity in all the Elysian Fields.⁸

It is only necessary to recall the amenity of George II and the notorious managing of Queen Caroline to draw a conclusion. The "grave black gentlemen" may be Caroline's favorite prelates, with whom she was fond of arguing theology. The Queen's difficulties in keeping her maids of honour honourable were a familiar topic of the times, and George's mistresses need hardly to be mentioned as another parallel.

Driven by his wife, and desirous of meeting the wonderful mortals praised in dedications, Jupiter makes a decision:

Jup. The dedications please me extremely, and I am glad to find there are such excellent men upon earth. There is one whom I find two or three

⁵ Page 1060.

⁶ Page 662.

⁷ Page 662.

⁸ Thomas Roscoe, ed., *The Works of Henry Fielding*, p. 664.

authors agree to be much better than any of us in heaven are. This discovery, together with my wife's tongue, has determined me to make a trip to the earth, and spend some time in such godlike company.⁹

Jupiter declines to invite Plutus to accompany him, and Apollo agrees in the decision:

Nay, he ventures to make free with Mars himself; and sometimes, they tell me, puts men at the head of military affairs who never saw an enemy, nor of whom an enemy ever could see any other than the back.¹⁰

England's hesitant military policy under Walpole is almost certainly the source of this remark.

Apollo and Mercury have a disagreement over the subject of their votaries:

Apol. You have not read the late dedications of my votaries.

Mer. Of my votaries, you mean: I hope you will not dispute my title to the dedications, as the god of thieves. You make no distinction, I hope, between robbing with a pistol and with a pen.¹¹

The hack writers of the government are obviously intended, and the political implication is made very clear:

These fellows prevent the very use of praise, which, while only the reward of virtue, will always invite men to it; but, when it is to be bought, will be despised by the true deserving, equally with a ribbon or a feather, which may be bought by any one in a milliner's or a minister's shop.¹²

Walpole's political hack writers had been continually attacked by Fielding and the writers of the Opposition, particularly in the *Craftsman*, which labeled Osborne as "Mrs. Osborne" or "the old woman." Fielding's tendency to repeat and re-emphasize satiric material further supports a political application suggested by the reference to "a minister's shop."

This *Interlude* is merely a sketch, of course, but it is clearly a companion piece of *Eurydice*. It is surprising that the satire has been ignored, slight though the piece may be; Wilbur Cross mentions the ridicule of dedications, but nowhere else does there appear to be any recognition of the satiric content.

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⁹ Page 663.

¹⁰ Page 663.

¹¹ Page 663.

¹² Thomas Roscoe, ed., *The Works of Henry Fielding*, p. 663.

DANTE, FLAUBERT, AND "THE SNOWS OF
KILIMANJARO"

In "The Snows of Kilimanjaro," Hemingway frames his story with a strange little epigraph of his own and a beautifully imaginative adaptation of the Flight of the Soul. The external action treats the last hours of a man dying of gangrene in a remote part of Africa. The man is a writer who has neglected his talent in order to live in sensuality and comfort. His wealthy mistress is with him:

. . . this rich bitch, this kindly caretaker and destroyer of his talent. Nonsense. He had destroyed his talent himself. Why should he blame this woman because she kept him well? He had destroyed his talent by not using it, by betrayals of himself and what he believed in, by drinking so much that he blunted the edge of his perceptions, by laziness, by sloth, and by snobbery, by pride and by prejudice, by hook and by crook. What was this? A catalogue of old books? What was his talent anyway? It was a talent all right but instead of using it, he had traded on it. It was never what he had done, but always what he could do. And he had chosen to make his living with something else instead of a pen or a pencil. . . . He had sold vitality, in one form or another, all his life and when your affections are not too involved you give much better value for the money. He had found that out but he would never write that, now, either. No, he would not write that, although it was well worth writing.¹

The man with gangrene is waiting for a plane to come and take him back to civilization for treatment. In the morning it comes [in his mind] and he is put in, and they take off and fly over plains and mountains and forests until other mountains appear ahead:

And then instead of going on to Arusha they turned left . . . and looking down he saw a pink sifting cloud, moving over the ground, and in the air, like the first snow in a blizzard, that comes from nowhere, and he knew the locusts were coming up from the South.² Then they began to climb and they were going to the East it seemed and then it darkened and they were in a storm, and the rain so thick it seemed like flying through a waterfall, and then they were out . . . and there, ahead, all he could see, as wide as

¹ *The Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway* (The Modern Library, N. Y., n.d.), pp. 158-59.

² Cf. *Joel*, 2.25: "And I will restore to you the years that the locust hath eaten. . . ."

all the world, great, high, and unbelievably white in the sun, was the square top of Kilimanjaro. And then he knew that there was where he was going.³

When the woman comes, she finds him dead.

There is no need to explain the meaning of the snows of Kilimanjaro. Exquisitely varied symbols of approaching death are scattered through the story and prepare one well for the final snows. But there is a passage in Flaubert's correspondence that would seem to have been at the heart of Hemingway's inspiration. The words of Flaubert—the martyr, the *loyal* artist—give a further meaning and an overwhelming irony to the death in Kilimanjaro's snows:

. . . N'est-il pas de la vie d'artiste, ou plutôt d'une œuvre d'art à accomplir comme d'une grande montagne à escalader? Dur voyage et qui demande une volonté acharnée! D'abord on aperçoit d'en bas une haute cime; dans les cieux elle est étincelante de pureté, elle est effrayante de hauteur! et elle vous sollicite cependant à cause de cela même. On part, mais à chaque plateau de la route, le sommet grandit, l'horizon se recule, on va par les précipices, les vertiges et les découragements, il fait froid! et l'éternel ouragan des hautes régions vous enlève en passant jusqu'au dernier lambeau de votre vêtement; la terre est perdue pour toujours et le but sans doute ne s'atteindra pas. C'est l'heure où l'on compte ses fatigues, où l'on regarde avec épouvante les gerçures de sa peau. L'on n'a rien qu'une indomptable envie de monter plus haut, d'en finir, de mourir. Quelquefois, pourtant, un coup des vents du ciel arrive et dévoile à votre éblouissement des perfections innombrables, infinies, merveilleuses! A vingt mille pieds sous soi on aperçoit les hommes, une brise olympienne emplit nos poumons géants et l'on se considère comme un colosse ayant le monde entier pour piédestal. Puis le brouillard retombe et l'on continue à tâtons s'écrouchant les ongles aux rochers et pleurant de la solitude. N'importe! mourons dans la neige, dans la blanche douleur de notre désir, au murmure des torrents de l'Esprit et la figure tournée vers le soleil.⁴

³ *The Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway*, p. 174.

⁴ Gustave Flaubert, *Correspondance, Deuxième Série (1850-1854)* (Paris, 1910), pp. 255-56. The letter in which this passage occurs is dated "Croisset, vendredi minuit, 1er mai 1853." It was written to Louise Colet ["Madame X. . ."] during the period of Flaubert's most painful toil on *Madame Bovary*.—The mechanical elements in Hemingway's story form a startling parallel to those in Flaubert—even the coincidence of the height of Flaubert's mountain (20,000 feet—Hemingway's 19,710). In Flaubert, "le brouillard retombe"—in Hemingway, "it darkened and they were in a storm." In Hemingway, "it seemed like flying through a waterfall"—in Flaubert, "mourons . . . au murmure des torrents de l'Esprit." And in both, the final reference is to dying in the snows with the face toward the sun.

As for the other symbol in the epigraph at the beginning of the story—can there be any doubt as to its meaning?

Kilimanjaro is a snow covered mountain 19,710 feet high, and is said to be the highest mountain in Africa. Its western summit is called the Masai "Ngàje Ngài," the House of God. Close to the western summit there is the dried and frozen carcass of a leopard. No one has explained what the leopard was seeking at that altitude.⁵

The leopard is Dante's—the symbol of worldly pleasure and lechery—one of three beasts, in the first canto of the *Inferno*, that stood between the greatest medieval poet and his own Delectable Mountain.⁶

The Holy Hill for Dante is that of Righteousness. For Flaubert, it is Art in its perfection. But for Hemingway, in "The Snows of Kilimanjaro," it is Death.

ALFRED G. ENGSTROM

University of North Carolina

A NOTE ON HOUSMAN'S USE OF THE BIBLE

Although Professor G. B. A. Fletcher lists eleven "undoubted and probable reminiscences" of the Bible in Housman's collected poems,¹ he seems to have entirely missed Housman's most interesting experiment with Biblical materials. The text of Poem XXII in the collection *More Poems* is as follows:

Ho, everyone that thirsteth
And hath the price to give,
Come to the stolen waters,
Drink and your soul shall live.

Come to the stolen waters,
And leap the guarded pale,
And pull the flower in season
Before desire shall fail.

⁵ *The Short Stories of Ernest Hemingway*, p. 150.

⁶ *Inferno*, I. 13; 31-36; 76-78.—When the plane crashes (metaphorically, in the flight of the soul), since it is flying eastward toward the top of Kilimanjaro, it will fall near the western summit, and it is there that the leopard will perish in the snows.

¹ Richards, Grant. *Housman 1897-1936* (New York, 1942), Appendix III, 399 ff. According to Professor Fletcher's figures, only the poetry of Matthew Arnold and that of Shakespeare have supplied Housman with more turns of expression than the bible. [Fletcher did not miss the resemblance to Isaiah; cf. *MLN*, LXI, 504. It was also noted by Mounts, *MLN*, LXI, 186.—H. C. L.]

It shall not last for ever,
 No more than earth and skies;
 But he that drinks in season
 Shall live before he dies.

June suns, you cannot store them
 To warm the winter's cold,
 The lad that hopes for heaven
 Shall fill his mouth with mould.

In theme and mood, this poem closely resembles *Ecclesiastes*, Chapter 12. Enjoy yourself in the days of your youth, before old age dulls the senses and death utterly extinguishes them. This particular theme and mood so frequently finds expression not only in Housman's other verse but in the works of many earlier writers as well that the resemblance to the theme and mood of *Ecclesiastes*, Chapter 12, would ordinarily not be worth recording. But that Housman did consciously have this famous passage in *Ecclesiastes* in mind, and wished his readers to recall it, may be supposed from the fact that the eighth verse of his poem repeats one of its most significant phrases.

Also when they shall be afraid of that which is high, and fears shall be in the way, and the almond tree shall flourish, and the grasshopper shall be a burden, and *desire shall fail*: because man goeth to his long home, and the mourners go about the streets.²

And that this identical phrasing could not have been coincidental is made reasonably certain from the design of the poem. Housman's point of departure is *Isaiah* 55. 1, 3.

Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye, buy, and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price.

. . . .

Incline your ear, and come unto me: *hear, and your soul shall live*; and I will make an everlasting covenant with you, even the sure mercies of David.

The poet's ironical intention is clear. The "waters" of *Isaiah* are the waters of everlasting salvation, and *Isaiah* is imploring the wicked to forsake their ways and think in terms of the future, and not of the present, world. For Housman, the self-confessed hedonist and atheist, this sort of message can hold nothing. The wise man,

² *Eccles.*, 12. 5. I use the Authorized Version. Italics, here and elsewhere, are mine.

he conceives, should live as if there were no tomorrow, savoring the sensual pleasures of the moment as they come to him. To point up the irony implicit in the poem, Housman hit upon the neat and telling device of opposing one Biblical symbol with another. In *Proverbs* he found the exact symbol he wanted: "*Stolen waters are sweet and bread eaten in secret is pleasant*" (9. 17), the phrase "stolen waters" here clearly standing for the pleasures of the flesh. The cross-reference to this passage directs the reader to *Proverbs* 20. 17. There, significantly, we find this verse:

Bread of deceit is sweet to a man; but afterwards *his mouth shall be filled with gravel.*

DAVIS P. HARDING

Yale University

A LOST PIECE OF STAGE BUSINESS IN *MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING*

Although it is well recognized that eighteenth century editors emended the text of Shakespeare according to their own concepts of propriety and consistency, we seem bound by tradition to accept and print emendations which do violence to both the letter and spirit of the original text. An interesting example of the continuing acceptance of such an emendation is illustrated by Theobald's alteration of the speech ascriptions in the ball scene (II, i) of *Much Ado About Nothing*. The first couple are Don Pedro and Hero, and according to both Quarto and Folio the second pair are Benedick and Margaret, but practically all modern editors substitute Balthasar for Benedick saying, as does Professor Kittredge, "Theobald made the obvious correction." Professor Dover Wilson is, I think, alone in substituting Borachio.

It is not difficult to see why Theobald emended as he did. After three speeches the name of Margaret's partner changes in both Quarto and Folio from Benedick to Balthasar. Since Benedick later dances with Beatrice, consistency apparently demanded his elimination from the scene with Margaret. Evidently it seemed obvious to Theobald that Margaret ought not to have two partners. Actually, if my understanding of the scene be correct, Margaret must have two partners and the emendation has not only obscured Shakespeare's characterization and variation of pattern but, as well, deprived us of an interesting piece of stage business, designed by the dramatist himself.

In the Quarto the scene reads as follows, and with this reading the Folio agrees, except for variations in spelling.

- Bene.* Well, I would you did like me.
Mar. So would I not for your owne sake, for I have many ill qualities.
Bene. Which is one?
Mar. I say my praiers alowd.
Bene. I love you the better, the hearers may cry Amen.
Marg. God match me with a good dauncer.
Balth. Amen.
Marg. And God keepe him out of my sight when the daunce is done:
 answer Clarke.
Balth. No more words, the Clarke is answered.

Benedick's opening gambit is in the same mock-serious tone as his later conversation with Margaret in v, ii, where he promises to write a sonnet in praise of her beauty. The "merry war" was waged against Margaret as well as Beatrice, and a variation of that jesting game is found in the scene at hand. Margaret, knowing perfectly well the identity of her masked partner, seeks a victory over him and achieves it by praying to be matched with a good dancer, presumably one better than Benedick. At this point Balthasar, who has obviously overheard her last remark, adroitly takes her away from Benedick, sanctioning his action with an "Amen" which signifies not only his agreement with Margaret's wish for a good dancer as a partner, but as well his manner of granting her wish by "cutting-in." It could well be that Margaret had caught sight of Balthasar near at hand and was thus prompted to utter her prayer for release. At any rate, if we accept the reading of the Quarto and Folio, Balthasar's "Amen" indicates clearly what stage business takes place. The two then dance away leaving the discomfited Benedick with Margaret's taunt ringing in his ears, "God keepe him out of my sight when the daunce is done. . . ."

The "obstinate heretic" has thus been scorned as a poor dancer, but further humiliation is to come when he must preserve the fiction of his mask and endure the barbed shafts of Beatrice's wit. In other words, the original text contains an interesting example of Shakespeare's use of stage business to characterize. Here he called his audience's attention to the vulnerability of the redoubtable Benedick, an emphasis which has been obscured by an unnecessary emendation.

CHARLES TYLER PROUTY

Yale University

REVIEWS

The Histrionic Mr. Poe. By N. BRYLLION FAGIN. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1949. Pp. xi + 289. \$4.00.

H. L. Mencken has called this the best book on Poe. The other good books on Poe are either somewhat outmoded or, like Quinn's admirable study, extremely long. This work of Professor Fagin is compact, written in lively style, and in general reliable. It is no mere synopsis but contains some new material and would seem to me the book to recommend to the reader who wishes to read one short, trustworthy book on Poe.

The title is a little unfortunate. Like almost everybody who has written on Poe, Fagin has a thesis, one with which few would quarrel, although it represents a new critical attitude. He thinks that Poe took the place of an actor rather than a dramatist in creating his characters. Who shall say that M. Dupin is less alive to the reader than Mr. Pickwick himself? Poe did not handle characters as if he were an observer, nor yet imagine himself within them. Rather our "literary histrio" (the word is Poe's own), mentally identified himself with an actor, playing each character's part. The result is a vivid and instantly convincing portrayal which, as Poe doubtless wished in the case of repugnant figures, gives us the pleasure of observing imitation in the Aristotelian sense.

The Cask of Amontillado is illustrative. We do not sympathize with either character, for we do not know all each has done. We do see the evil of revenge and are purified by pity and terror. However interesting this may be, the virtues of Fagin's book are independent of mere attitude. He gives us a view, not of a monster or of an inhuman spirit, but of a fairly successful journalist who not only had poetical talents but was as dedicated to poetry as Wordsworth himself. Quinn, too, has rightly felt the essential humanity of Poe, but Fagin has been more willing to accept how difficult a personality the poet had. Fagin even can see that Poe may have fancied himself in love with two women at one time.

Fagin sums up: "Black-cloaked, standing gracefully . . . [Poe] does not laugh, but the pleased smile on his pale face is unmistakable." Poe's was the life of an artist who accomplished just what he wanted in his art, at whatever sacrifice.

On a few points, specific comment is desirable. At page 5, Fagin talks of "gambling debts which Mr. Allan resented having to pay." He did not pay them. At page 18, add to Poe's occupations a brief attempt to work as a lithographer, witnessed by Wilmer. At page 19, Neilson Poe's comment on the Poe family name should be pre-

sented as ironic. At page 34, for "Pompiosa" read "Pompioso." At page 39, add to Poe's pseudonyms, Littleton Barry, Tamerlane, and Sir Launcelot Canning. At page 104, the blanks of name and title can be filled in "Witchcraft" and Lawson. Page 176, the adjective is usually Poesque, not hyphenated. Page 216, blue cows and pink horses are hardly precursors of modern painting as Van Wyck Brooks thinks with Fagin's approval. Poe had probably seen oriental rugs and porcelains, and heraldic animals.

Fagin, although breaking with some foolish commonplaces of Poe criticism has not broken with a highly dangerous one, and (pages 39, 96) continues to talk of Poe as if commonly referring to non-existent authorities. Poe is often inaccurate, but sometimes his errors rest on what he must have thought good authority. And save as he invented works as part of the plot, in *Devil in the Belfry*, *House of Usher*, *Von Kempelen*, etc., investigation leaves me with no instance of sure invention on his part. Save for the *Mad Tryst* all the books named in *The House of Usher* are genuine; though perhaps not hitherto identified, "Journey into the Blue Distance" is a subtitle for Tieck's *Das alte Buch*, and copies of the *Vigiliae* with title as Poe gave it were located in German libraries in recent years. In the *1002nd Tale*, anyone can see the *Tellmenowisitsoornot* is a jest; but the *Zohar* of Simeon Jochaides, possibly meant as a pun ("So ha, by Joke-aids"), still is a real title, by an author usually called Simeon ben Yohai. Poe preferred selection to invention, even in his humor. And the columns of the *Explicator* have recently carried much that should convince us even *Ulalume* has a definite story, once the allusions are run down.

So much minute objection seems justified, since this book deserves more than a first edition; but should not be taken as invalidating my feeling that for the reader who is not a specialist, Mencken was right.

THOMAS O. MABBOTT

Hunter College

Herder. By A. GILLIES. [Modern Language Studies] Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1945. 152 pp. 12/6.

Mr. Gillies' ten page bibliography (in which I only miss Ernst Cassirer's important chapter in his *Freiheit und Form*) shows clearly that Herder has received his due share of attention in Germanic scholarship especially since the beginning of this century. Several comprehensive studies of Herder in German, English, and French have been published but perhaps none as readable and presenting, in compact form, as sympathetic and at the same time as critical a picture of the great "Anreger" and teacher, suitable for a first acquaintance with him but also indispensable for the

scholar steeped in Herder literature. For it sums up the work of the predecessors, clarifies the problems of Herder's thought, sets in clear relief the contradictions of his character and the antinomies of his theories and follows up their influence in the different countries of Europe.

Objectivity is not an outstanding quality in Herder studies. Scholars like Günther Jacoby and Josef Nadler have placed their hero above Goethe; Germanophiles have distorted his nationalism and seen in him the herald of Nordic superiority; the comparatively cool reception he has found in the Western world has proved that his temper was too German and romantic; Slavs have proclaimed him "as the father of the Slav Renaissance." It is all the more creditable that Mr. Gillies succeeded in bestowing praise and criticism where it was due and in distributing light and shadow in his portraiture with a steady hand.

The first chapter, "The Scene," brilliantly lighted by rapid and pithy characterizations of men and movements and occasionally reaching back to earlier forerunners such as Vico and Gottfried Arnold, presents in nine pages the rich setting of 18th century thought, in which Herder bridges the gap between Lessing and German romanticism. If Mr. Gillies gauges the influence of Rousseau somewhat stintingly (as throughout the book and especially in chapter V), this may be due to a reaction against former overemphasis on this still moot problem but also to an apparent adherence on his part to the latter's back-to-nature theory of the prize essays, largely overcome in the *Contrat Social*. After a succinct account of Herder's life and works in the second chapter, three to eight analyze in detail his principal books and essays as to genesis, wealth of learning, development of concepts and conflict of viewpoints, and evaluating their temporary and lasting importance, while chapter IX, "Fortunes and Misfortunes," sums up the reasons for Herder's bitterness and disappointments and surveys his influence in Germany (never to be overestimated), in England, America, France, and the Eastern countries.

The weakness of Herder's work, as Mr. Gillies aptly concludes, "lies in its susceptibility to being given a partial application; in the manifold radiations, its central glow is apt to be lost to view. The world has, therefore, not seen it in all its fulness. It is democratic and federationist; its nationalism is not expansionist or arrogant, but co-operative, the friend not the enemy of internationalism; its ideal is that of a community of nation-states all striving, in fertile collaboration, towards an ever higher sphere of human achievement."

This weakness, however, is clearly traced by Mr. Gillies to Herder's vacillation of viewpoints, inherent in all his work. At the risk of oversimplification I am tempted to reduce Herder's conflicting tendencies to a simple diagram of three crossing lines: the

one, perhaps to be termed the lost paradise of youth theory, sees a decline in humanities' cultural energies and is bound up with Herder's conception of the superiority of primitive literature, of folk poetry, and with his aversion to "senile" rationalism and abstraction; the second line, rising, represents the theory of perfectibility, of the development of man, thanks to his gift of reason, to a higher destination (this destination to be assumed since man alone, not guided by instinct like the animal, develops his faculties but never reaches his goal on earth). The lost youth theory connects Herder with the early Rousseau, the perfectibility theory with Enlightenment and, to a certain extent, with Hegel. But since every nation has its own right to existence, its own purpose and perfection, stands, to speak with Ranke, "unmittelbar zu Gott," and since history is in Herders words "der Gang Gottes durch die Natur," a third line (also pointing toward Hegel), neither rising nor declining and thus indicating in historical relativism the equal value of all peoples and all phases, is conflicting with the other two.

We might have expected this third as Herder's primary form, as an acceptance of Haman's glorification of the creation's abundance of existing and characteristic phenomena; but although Herder seems to find that form in the characterization of peoples when considered by themselves, detached from the development of humanity as a whole, it only assumes importance in his second phase for the totality. All three viewpoints are in continual juxtaposition and conflict, and if, as Mr. Gillies points out in many parallels, so many of Herder's ideas reappear in Goethe's work and especially in *Faust*, Goethe's greatness is due, no doubt, not only to his poetical genius which converts philosophical ideas into living forms, but also to his ability of harmonizing diverging tendencies in his organic philosophy of spiral polarity.

Since its appearance the book has gone into a second printing.

ERNST FEISE

The Tristan and Isolde of Gottfried von Strassburg, translated with introduction, notes and connecting summaries, by E. H. ZEYDEL: Princeton University Press, 1948, pp. 209; \$4.00.

Translation is an art; indeed it may rise to the most highly creative art—as Gottfried von Strassburg's poem—itself in a sense a translation—may prove, for however faithfully Gottfried may have followed his sources (we remember the vituperation he hurled at Wolfram as "vindaere wilder maere, der maere wildenaere") he infuses borrowed material with a quality, a personality so essentially his own that his "Tristan" seems to belong to a world apart from that of Thomas.

But it is the subtlety, the very elusiveness of Gottfried's 'per-

sonality' that must provide the greatest problem to anyone who like Professor Zeydel, is courageous and patient enough to undertake the task, so immensely arduous yet long overdue, of rendering Gottfried's romance into English verse. The difficulties seem almost insuperable, for they belong not only to the question of form, language, rhythm and rhyme but to making the poem as a whole, fully acceptable to us to-day. Gottfried was able to 'translate' a story (actually already modernized by his French forerunner) into the idiom of his age. The scholar of to-day is expected to remain true to his thirteenth century pattern. But the courtly atmosphere that seems at any rate at first sight, far remoter to us than the primitive passion of the Celtic original, the very form, the jingling endless monotony of the rhymed 'romance' might too easily be expected to alienate the twentieth century reader; for how conjure up once more that indefinable spell which invests the original with its irresistible magic, which transcends the limitation of period and makes one apprehend beneath the fashionable mask and the impositions of a courtly etiquette with all its paradoxical but inevitable aberrations, the tragic bewilderment and the unappeased hunger of the human heart?

For Gottfried (alone comparable perhaps to Mozart) hovers above all polarities, and where exactly with either artist can we lay our hand on the dividing line of depth and frivolity, laughter and pain—in Gottfried's own words:—

diz leit ist liebes alse vol . . .
daz übel daz tuot sô herzewol. (115/6)

in Professor Zeydel's rendering:—

So full of joy is this sad mood,
this evil does the heart such good . . .

Incidentally we strike at once on a difference—that lack in the English vocabulary of that significant and suggestive alliteration "leit . . . liebes," for Gottfried is the most conscious artist, conscious maybe sometimes to the point of artifice, and one of his delights is the inverted phrase—

ein senedaere, ein senedaerîn,
ein man, ein wîp; ein wîp, ein man,
Tristan, Isot; Isot, Tristan.

But the playful artifice of form is enwoven in its own music, and defies translation because of the unavoidable English "a" sound. All this serves to prove how enormous and indeed often insuperable was the task that confronted Professor Zeydel. The tact and delicacy with which he has handled his material as a whole deserves the highest commendation, the ease and fluency maintained through the 174 pages is truly remarkable. Although setting out to give a line-for-line translation in the original metre, Professor Zeydel has

managed in spite of the difficulties presented by the frequent feminine rhymes, to avoid stilted and unnatural phrasing, by allowing himself a certain freedom here and there. The idiom is comparatively modern and avoids irritating archaisms, even if some readers might have preferred to find "you" instead of *thou*; the use of "you" in a way would be doubly justified by the German "Ihr." But here Professor Zeydel can defend himself as indeed he does in his 'Preface,' by suggesting that to-day "*thou*" is more likely to produce the courtly flavour which Gottfried was so eager to impart. This, however, is a minor point.

We cannot be sufficiently grateful to the renowned American scholar for giving not only the non-German speaking members of the academic world but also the general reader, a chance of at last entering into a realm so long closed to him, for apart from a few extracts and a prose abridgment by Miss Jessie L. Weston, Gottfried's poem has never been translated into the English tongue.

Thanks to Professor Zeydel the reader will now be able to follow Tristan and Iseult in rapture and in torment to the agony of farewell, first resting on the threshold of that enchanted grotto, in which for a brief moment the lovers forget the tyranny of time. And if for reasons of space he is not permitted to gain full insight into the mysteries of that cavern and into Gottfried's metaphysic of love he will have learned how far removed is the vision of the medieval German poet from that of Richard Wagner, and that even though he penetrates into the chasms of ultimate parting and yearns like the troubadours for realms of an absolute love, he remains ever poignantly sensitive to the exquisite frailties of our earthly existence.

AUGUST CLOSS

University of Bristol

American Negro Slavery in the Works of Friedrich Strubberg, Friedrich Gerstäcker, and Otto Ruppius. By LEROY H. WOODSON. Dissertation, The Catholic University of America Studies in German, Vol. XXII. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1949. Pp. 340.

In this study, Leroy H. Woodson carefully investigates the slavery question as treated in the writings of the three German authors, Friedrich Strubberg, Friedrich Gerstäcker, and Otto Ruppius. The choice of these writers is a happy one since all three lived in America in the first half of the nineteenth century and all three returned to their native land prior to the outbreak of the Civil War. They lived in the United States over a period of many years and had, therefore, a first-hand knowledge of the burning problem.

This research work covers a voluminous amount of material,

which, in turn, permits Woodson to arrive at sound and dependable conclusions in regard to the evaluation of Strubberg, Gerstäcker, and Ruppis toward the question under discussion.

In Part I, the reader is made familiar with the history of slavery in America, its causes and effects and the growth of the negro population, followed by a chapter dealing with the German immigration to America in the nineteenth century. Then follow parts II, III, and IV, each devoted to one of the three authors. Woodson, first of all, clears up some misstatements found in works written on Strubberg, Gerstäcker, and Ruppis. Then he carefully analyzes the writings of the authors having bearing on the slavery question. On the basis of the compilation of facts, Woodson shows variances in attitude of the three men in regard to the slavery question. Of Ruppis—the only forty-eight year old of the three, a fugitive from political persecution—we are told that he is less personal in his descriptions, leaving it to the reader to draw his own conclusions. He is weakest in that respect and least interested in the slavery problem. Gerstäcker's descriptions of the existence of the black man are vivid and true to life. He avoids the too idealistic touches often found in Strubberg's writings. The problems as discussed by Gerstäcker, the practices he exposes, and the prophecies he makes have proved that he was a keen observer. Another distinguishing mark of Gerstäcker is that he traveled in the United States after the Civil War, during the days of Reconstruction. He discusses the founding and growth of the Ku Klux Klan and accuses President Andrew Johnson of having permitted the growth of "a cancerous sore." Gerstäcker advises the negroes that they must strive to attain the intellectual freedom which alone will guarantee the future of that race.

The three writers have in common that they are sincerely interested in the negro problem, exposing it in all its ugliness and morbidity to the German public. They all condemn it as an ugly blot on human history. They all point out the fact that the fight against slavery was inspired rather by "political" than "humanitarian" motives.

This dissertation is a respectable piece of research which does credit to the author, and to Professor Paul G. Gleis of Catholic University, under whose direction the study was made. It is a definite contribution to the German literature of the nineteenth century as it touches upon the American scene.

A. J. PRAHL

University of Maryland

An American Utilitarian, Richard Hildreth as a Philosopher. By MARTHA M. PINGEL. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. Pp. xi + 214. \$3.00.

Richard Hildreth was one of the lesser geniuses of the mid nineteenth-century New England group, a man of wide intellectual and social interests whose name has survived in the bibliographies of historians but whose manifold accomplishments in other fields have been largely forgotten. As a result of the growing interest in the history of American thought Hildreth's more serious writings are being exhumed and their author accorded the unique distinction of being America's only philosopher of the utilitarian school.

Half of Martha Pingel's book consists of two unpublished fragments of what were to have been major treatises on economic theory and aesthetics to accompany his works on morals and politics. There are also several shorter reprinted polemics directed chiefly at the defenders of various religious orthodoxies. The editor has prepared these documents with a concise thirty-nine page sketch of Hildreth's intellectual system. It is not intended as disparagement of an interesting book to express the wish that the editor might have cut out much of the documentary material and taken more space for an extended analysis of Hildreth's utilitarianism.

According to the custom of his times, Hildreth planned and partially completed a general social philosophy (usually called moral philosophy), but on a utilitarian rather than religious basis. The radical reputation which he enjoyed among his contemporaries doubtless testifies to the remarkable intellectual homogeneity of the time, for his brand of utilitarianism was closer to the Moral Science of the American colleges than to that of Bentham. He seems to have diverged chiefly in rearranging the customary hierarchy of values so that the developed faculty of taste is taken to represent the "culmination of moral and political progress." Unfortunately, the fragment on taste outlines the subject theoretically rather than practically or historically, and is in fact for the most part a series of arid and commonplace notes. If Martha Pingel could have salvaged something here for the lay reader, she missed her chance.

As political economist, on the other hand, Hildreth is more exciting. Perhaps the social character of his utilitarianism (the happiness of others) led him to reject the moralistic individualism of the Scottish economists, and along with it the basic laws of Malthus and Ricardo. He clearly surmised the manifold but unpredictable economic consequences of technology and increasing social complexity, all of which he welcomed.

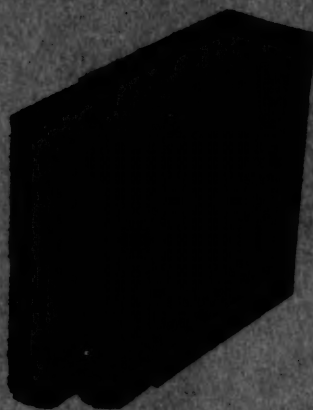
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